The Relativity of Authenticity:

Notions of authenticity in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape and the impact of wine tourism on cultural heritage.

A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of
M.Phil in Conservation of the Built Environment (APG5071S)

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Cover Images:

Top photograph: Schoongezicht homestead (www.rustenberg.co.za).
Middle photograph: La Motte tourist centre (www.la-motte.com).
Bottom photograph: Garden at Babylonstoren (www.bablylonstoren.com).

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Abstract

This study explores various notions of authenticity in tourism experience and seeks to establish if these notions are compatible with the concept of authenticity in conservation of the built environment. Three wine farms in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape, a proposed serial World Heritage Site, have been studied. The study suggests that object-related or material authenticity is being replaced with alternative notions of authenticity in tourism and that the toured object, for the purpose of winelands tourism in the Western Cape during this period, no longer needs to be authentic.

Key Words: authenticity, wine tourism, cultural heritage.

Authenticity is never absolute in practice, always relative (Lowenthal 1995:123).

Contents

Glossary of terms

Conservation is all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. Conservation may, according to circumstance, include the processes of: retention or reintroduction of use; retention of associations and meanings; maintenance, preservation, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation and interpretation; and will commonly include a combination of more than one of these (Australia ICOMOS 1999 art 1).

Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for the past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects (Australia ICOMOS 1999 art 1).

Historical restoration means returning the existing fabric of a place to an earlier state, either its hypothetical original state or perceived to be 'best' state (Townsend 2012:3).

Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguishable from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric (Australia ICOMOS 1999 art 1).

Restoration means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material (Australia ICOMOS 1999 art 1).

Stylistic restoration is restoration work characterised by a meticulous analysis and assessment of the structure, and then by reconstruction of damaged parts, and the recreation of no longer existing parts, all based on design by analogy (Townsend 2012:3).

Design-in-keeping is used in this study to describe imitation of historic built form to construct new work to fit into a historic context.

The Tourist Gaze is a specific activity, motivated by a specific expectation that only tourists have when they view others or other places from a perceived distance (Urry 2009:1).

Toured object refers to sights, objects, sites or events that are being visited and experienced by tourists during the course of touring (Wang 1999: 351).

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1: Introduction

The ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter argues that it is essential to understand the dynamic relationship between tourism and places of 'Heritage Significance', in order to effectively manage such places, as it may involve conflicting values (ICOMOS 2002:2-3). It is implicit that, without understanding the demands imposed by tourism, the value and significance of heritage places are at risk of being compromised. It is suggested that the management of cultural heritage, in this case the historic built environment, and suppliers of tourism services, are often at odds when it comes to the provision of adequate facilities for tourism in and around heritage resources. 'There are always tensions between preserving authentic ancient fabric, protecting (or enhancing) character and creating new buildings or places of significance' (Townsend 2014: 16).

In order to illustrate this quandary, I will explore the 'notion of authenticity' as used in both these disciplines, tourism and conservation of the built environment, as, according to Pearce, 'the subtleties inherent in the concept offer a bridge for dialogue amongst different users' (Pearce 2012:268). It is proposed that both the tourism industry and the conservation community can work co-operatively together upon better understanding of each other's underpinning motivations.

The relativity of authenticity is therefore studied by exploring differing notions of authenticity in the sociology of tourism and establishing whether these notions are compatible with the concepts of authenticity in conservation of the built environment, with specific reference to historic Cape Dutch farmsteads in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape. As Townsend points out in his introductory chapter to conservation work in the Western Cape: 'We cannot talk about conservation in the Western Cape without talking about the great Cape Dutch homesteads' (Townsend 2014:19).

Objective

The objective of this study is to illustrate the tensions that exist between the tourism industry and the conservation community. The primary question explores whether the value and significance of historic wine farms in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape is compromised by tourism producers, in the attempt to satisfy tourists' expectations and motivations. The 'notion of

authenticity' is considered an underpinning motivation for both disciplines and the sub-questions are therefore asked to explore the different meanings and development of these notions.

- What are the notions of authenticity in tourism studies?

- What is the notion of authenticity in conservation of heritage resources?

- Are these different notions compatible, conflicting or even reconcilable and can they be used as a bridge for dialogue between the two sectors?

The intention is to explore the influence that wine farm tourism in the Western Cape has had on the historic built-form through the use of notions of authenticity. The purpose is to look at how historic farmsteads have been adapted to suit tourists' needs, how these destinations and the adaptations meet the tourists' expectations and how these changes have affected the authenticity and, subsequently the significant heritage value, of the historic built-form.

A further set of questions have subsequently been formulated which were asked during the interviews and analyses of the three cases:

- Are tourists concerned with the authenticity of the toured object; in this case, the heritage precinct of the wine farms, that is the original farmstead, the outbuildings and the *werf?*[1]

- Are tourists made aware of new additions/insertions to a heritage precinct and is there always a clear distinction between the authentic old and the new objects pretending to be old?

- Are tourists satisfied with 'staged' and contrived tourist settings distant from the authentic precinct?

- Are the authentic heritage precincts at risk of losing their integrity as a result of owners' wishes to satisfy the tourists' apparent motivations and expectations?

[1] Afrikaans word used to describe the enclosed farmstead precinct, usually demarcated by a low wall.

- As the demands of tourism increase, is the appropriate/necessary heritage management in place to manage conservation of the built environment?

Methodology

This study is primarily descriptive and exploratory as it seeks to illustrate the complexities of the subject and is perhaps the first of its kind in South Africa. There are literatures dealing with both tourism and with conservation of the historic built form, but no study I am aware of has dealt with the comparison of the notion of authenticity as used by the two disciplines. This study was conducted in the context of the Cape Winelands, specifically in the Stellenbosch / Franschhoek area. The research process consisted of three main sections of exploration where a combination of research methods has been employed in each section to obtain relevant information.

The first section of research focused on the subject of tourism, and is reflected in chapter two. The background to tourism, specifically heritage tourism and wine tourism in the Cape Winelands, was briefly explored in order to explain why this issue is important, interesting and relevant. In order to place the study in context, the background to the nomination of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape to the World Heritage List is also described.

At the onset of the study, before I decided how to frame the research, I consulted two knowledgeable tour guides who made me aware of the importance of the concept of the 'tourist experience'. I realised that this was the key to understanding the impact of tourism on heritage resources. As a result I explored the origins and development of the notions of authenticity as used in tourism studies discussed extensively in literature and other academic work. Recent scholarly studies on the impact of tourism on wine farms were reviewed to determine existing knowledge about and interest in the topic as well as to address some previously unexamined questions. This research is documented as part of chapter three.

In order to determine the sentiments of tourists regarding the notions of authenticity in tourism experiences, I decided to interview more tour operators who work with tourists on a daily basis and who plan itineraries according to tourists' requirements. According to Spooner, the 'middle men', in this instance the tour operators, best recognise or organise the demands of the tourists (as consumers) and are in a position to indicate their concern for authenticity or not (Spooner 1988:202).

To solicit tour operators, I turned to the Internet to find day-tour operators who advertise their services around Cape Town. Various private tour operators who operate this way advertise their services on the web, operating from home or from a small office. Various appealing itineraries entice prospective visitors to sign up for day-trips to Cape Point or to the Cape Winelands. I found that there are at least 15 private tour companies who offer tours to the Cape Winelands. I called five of them and informed them of my study. We agreed that I would send them a questionnaire and we made an appointment to call again and work through the questionnaire at a more convenient time. These tour operators were asked what tourists regarded as the main attractions of the farms in question, as well as what tourists deem to be the most important aspect of their experiences. These responses were used to answer the questions posed in the Objective, as previously stated. The operators were mostly friendly and willing to talk; and after a first 'pilot' interview, I re-structured the questionnaire for the rest of the interviews. One of the operators preferred to fill in the questionnaire rather than to speak to me over the phone. Tour operators who were consulted and interviewed are listed in Appendix A. The questionnaire can be viewed in Appendix B.

The second section of research focused on the notion of authenticity in conservation of heritage resources and its use and development in the various international charters, conventions and conservation related guidelines. The issue of authenticity in conservation is examined in particular as it is self-evident that authenticity affects the cultural significance of a place. This enquiry also forms part of chapter three.

The third section of the research focused on the three cases, where the notions of authenticity as used by both disciplines are demonstrated (chapter four) and ultimately debated and analysed (chapter five).

Three farms – Schoongezicht, (where Rustenberg Wines is located), La Motte, and Babylonstoren – were chosen as cases because they are popular tourist destinations and clearly reflect alternative notions of authenticity in the tourist experience. The farms were also chosen to demonstrate different approaches to architectural conservation and the accommodation of tourists. An important aspect of the current built-form is the input and instructions regarding works of conservation and/or extensions/additions by the farm owners themselves, who are also clearly active producers of the tourism experience.

All three farms chosen as cases were also well known by the tour operators and one tour operator was planning to visit two of the farms as part of a specially scheduled tour for discerning wine tourists even though they were not listed on his typical itinerary. All the tour operators affirmed that they designed tailor-made-tours for small groups and adapted their itineraries depending on the 'type' of tourists or their specific requests.

Before the cases are discussed in chapter four, a brief background and description of Cape Dutch vernacular architecture is given to enlighten readers who are possibly not familiar with the style and its origins.

In order to study the individual farms, I first looked at how each of these farms were advertised to prospective tourists on the web, being the information source most commonly used by tourists. Every farm in the business of selling wine promotes a specific image or brand and offers a unique experience to tourists. It was interesting to note that each farm proclaimed a founding date presumably hoping to give historical significance and emphasised the presence of significant historic buildings, although this was not always considered the most important promotional features.

In each of the three cases the study includes:

- a brief history of the farm;
- an explanation of the historic built-form;
- a description of any conservation work that has been completed; and
- a discussion of the current built-form and use of the farm as a tourist destination.

Cape Dutch architecture is well documented, and various books were consulted to document the histories and historic built-form on each of the three farms.

In order to illustrate the current built-form, the architects, Malherbe Rust, responsible for the recent developments at both La Motte and Babylonstoren, were interviewed. They also provided diagrams and information regarding the development of the design and the final implementation thereof. These drawings were studied and analysed to understand the underlying development concepts employed by the architects in satisfying tourists' needs and expectations. The farm Schoongezicht has not recently been re-developed to accommodate large numbers of tourists, and

was only discussed with heritage practitioner Fabio Todeschini, who has done extensive consulting work in Ida's Valley where it is located. I also visited the three farms on various occasions during the research period to familiarise myself with the current built-form and to experience the use of the farm as a tourist destination.

In order to answer the last question concerning the conservation of the historic farm precinct, and the authenticity thereof, two local heritage experts were interviewed and asked for their opinions on the development of the specific historic farms and whether the historic built-form could still be deemed to be significant and considered to be authentic. Both these experts, Emeritus Professor Fabio Todeschini and Sarah Winter, are involved in assessments of heritage significance and decision making regarding heritage resources in the Western Province. Winter visited the farms independently and subsequently answered questions posed on a questionnaire. Todeschini visited the farms with me and was later formally interviewed where the questionnaire was mainly used as a basis for a more open-ended discussion. Todeschini and Winter's credentials can be seen in Appendix C. The questionnaire sent to Winter and later used in discussion with Todeschini can be seen in Appendix D.

The opinions of the heritage experts were documented as part of chapter four, directly after the descriptions of the current built-form of the farm and its use as a tourist destination. My observations and opinions on the cases are then also described, and related to relevant literature.

The questions that were asked and answered by the tour guides and heritage experts are re-asked in chapter five, and answered as findings, which are debated as they relate to the different notions of authenticity as perceived by tourists and in the conservation community. The conclusion to the findings are set out in chapter six.

Limitations of the study

This is a pilot study and is limited to the perceptions of ten tour operators and the views of two heritage experts about three historic wine farms in the greater Cape Winelands cultural landscape. There are many more historic wine farms where historic buildings are being adapted and/or altered to meet tourist demands in different ways.

It is hoped that this limited study will create an awareness of the issue that the notions of authenticity in tourism are broad and differ from those of authenticity in conservation of the built environment, and therefore creates tension. It is also hoped that the findings will create an awareness of the value that tourists place on historic places and that these values, or lack thereof, will be recognised when decisions are made regarding development and/or conservation-related work at these places of heritage significance.

It is beyond the scope of this study to explore the validity of Cape Dutch architecture as a common national heritage resource given its colonial legacy and use as a national icon during the apartheid years and much of the twentieth century. It is however, accepted in this study as heritage.

Chapter 2: Heritage and Wine Tourism in the Western Cape

Every year millions of pleasure seekers crisscross the globe in search of various tourist experiences. Their search for the exotic, adventure or 'The Other' has a social, cultural, economical and even political impact on the host country. In order to understand the impact of this phenomenon, this study begins with an exploration of the history and development of tourism, specifically heritage tourism. As wine tourism has become a major industry in the Western Cape during the past twenty years, influencing the historic built form, its development was also traced. Finally, reference is made to the nomination of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape as a proposed World Heritage Site and the ensuing obligation to understand and manage the impact of tourism.

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization's website (2014):

> Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries and places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists, residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure. As such, tourism has implications on the economy, on the natural and built environment, on the local population at the destination and on the tourists themselves.

Tourism can be international or domestic. The domestic tourist is a traveller residing in that country who travels within the same country, and an international tourist is a traveller who travels to another country, outside of where he/she normally resides. The South African Department of Tourism (2012:8) also defines a regional tourist as a traveller from Southern Africa who visits South Africa from a neighbouring country.

Tourism has become a major industry with a diversity of products and services such as tourist attractions and activities; accommodation; facilities and services such as restaurants; transportation facilities and services; infrastructure and institutional elements. Van Zyl argues that this diversity not only makes tourism a difficult industry to define or to quantify but that the problem is compounded by the perceptions of its customers. In the mind of the tourist, tourism is not an industry or set of products and services: it is seen as a set of experiences. It is then the objective of the tourist industry to package and supply these experiences to ultimately provide the tourist with a positive experience (Van Zyl 2005:19).

According to Jefferson and Lickorish (1988:59), the tourist product is 'a collection of physical and service features together with symbolic associations which are expected to fulfil the wants and needs of the buyer'. Tourists are therefore in search of products and services to satisfy their motivations and meet their expectations. The tourism product is not only the destination, it is about experiencing a place and what occurs there. Indeed, tourism is a major global phenomenon and international tourism has a profound impact on the world at large. According to Lanfant et al:

> International tourism is a powerful lever operating on a world scale (1995:2); and
>
> With tourism, what enters a country is not only passing tourists but also the apparatus of tourist production, a model for planning development and all the incentives which lead a society down the road to change under the influence of what we, along with the anthropologist Georges Balandier(1969), will call 'a dynamic from without' (Lanfant et al 1995:5).

These external forces shape the objectives of the tourist industry and, as a result, economic and cultural policies become bound together and gradually a place is reconstructed from a 'tourist point of view'. Tourism pressures lead a host society to partake in this world economy as they present their unique culture, heritage, traditions and identity as consumable products (Lanfant et al 1995:7). According to Lanfant et al (1995:7), even identity, that what gives a society distinctive characteristics, becomes a manufactured, packaged and marketed product, offered to the tourist consumer, where: 'The past – history and memory – are seen as tourist resources'.

> The parallel lives of these two terms alert us to the fact that the notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa. The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity (Gillis 1996:3).

Memories and identities are not fixed things. They are subjective representations or constructions of reality, rather than objective phenomena. Memories are therefore constantly revised to suit current identities (Gillis 1996:4).

Tourism is consequently a powerful force that challenges and modifies cultural identities and cultural heritage worldwide. In *Cultural Heritage and Tourism*, Timothy argues that where history is a story about the past, heritage is the modern day use of the past for tourism and other purposes:

> Heritage scholars agree on one basic concept that defines heritage – it is what we inherit from the past and use in the present day. (Timothy 2011:3)

Shepherd and Robins, however, question the nature of the relationship between the past and present and asks whether heritage is just an imagining of the past in the present or whether it is a projection of an idealised past (Shepherd and Robins 2008:117). Heritage is further described as being in motion, 'tied to the present (rather than to an imagined past), and coursed through by the currents of commercial exploitation and popular culture' (Shepherd and Robins 2008:123). It is constructed and changeable, rather than rooted and fixed. This leads to the manipulation and misrepresentation of heritage in the tourism industry, where heritage is 'virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past' (Johnson and Thomas 1995:170).

Heritage can be natural or cultural. Natural heritage includes phenomena in nature such as canyons, rain forests, lakes, rivers, glaciers, mountains, deserts and coastlines. Cultural heritage includes man-made things relating to the past, either material (tangible) which includes objects such as buildings, rural landscapes and villages, cities, historical gardens, art collections, artifacts in museums, handicrafts and antiques or non-material (intangible) elements of culture such as music, dance, social traditions, ceremonies, folklore, rituals and beliefs (Timothy 2011:3).

The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (2012:6) defines heritage:

> Heritage is the sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.

Heritage tourism is a form of tourism where the focus of the visit is to experience relics of the past. Timothy defines heritage tourism as people visiting heritage places or viewing historical resources, seeing or experiencing built heritage, living culture or contemporary arts (Timothy 2011:3). He further suggests that pilgrimage was one of the earliest forms of heritage tourism, as early pilgrims visited religious or spiritual places that were considered significant (Timothy 2011:2). Timothy also contends that, during the time of the Greek and Roman empires, The Seven Wonders of the World were popular heritage attractions, but were only achievable by merchants, traders, soldiers and the aristocracy. The earliest Greek guidebooks included reviews of the Pyramids of Giza, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Statue

of Zeus at Olympia, the Mausoleum of Maussollos at Halicarnassus, and the Ishtar Gate (Timothy 2011:2).

From the 1660s until the mid-1800s, it was common for young men of social and financial means in Europe to travel to the classical art cities and architectural wonders accompanied by tutors. They travelled to Paris, Rome, Venice, Florence and other historic cities to familiarise themselves with the architectural wonders and great works of art to be found there (Timothy 2011:2). These excursions were referred to as 'The Grand Tour' and were considered important educational and social events. According to Timothy (2011:3), 'The Grand Tour is among the earliest known examples of pre-packaged and mass-produced cultural tours of Europe.' Thomas Cook, the father of modern travel agents, tour operators and tour groups, set the modern trend in heritage tourism with the "package"' experiences he offered tourists. In the 1860s, he began offering ship and train-based tours of Europe, Egypt, Palestine and the USA, which were mostly orientated towards cultural heritage (Timothy 2011:3). Today, heritage and cultural destinations have become popular tourist attractions worldwide, with most package tours including visits to heritage sites and cultural areas. These are also amongst the most preferred destinations for independent travellers.

Wine tourism is an interesting new form of tourism. Where the history of wine making is of interest, it can be combined with heritage tourism. It has been defined as 'visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visiting' (Hall and Johnson 1997:73).

Formal wine tourism started in the Western Cape in 1971 when three wine farms, namely Simonsig, Muratie and Delheim, opened their cellar doors to tourists and formed the Stellenbosch Wine Route (Etherington 1978:79). In 1976, Knox produced his first book about visitations to the wine estates of South Africa. Indeed, by then more wine routes had been established and the wine farms that opened their cellars to tourists grew to 38. The revised book published in 2002 listed a total of 330 farms. Today, guidebooks list about 600 wineries, most of which can be toured. Although it seems as if wine routes, wine tastings and wine festivals have been around for a long time, they are, in fact, relatively recent. Interestingly, since wine-making in South Africa has revitalised itself since 1994, there has also been an exponential improvement in the quality of wine (Birch, cited in Viall et al 2011:95). South Africa ranks as the eighth largest wine-producing country

in the world with nearly 4% of the globe's total wine production (Froud 2013:8), but the wine industry is a competitive world in which wine makers often struggle to survive (Viall et al 2011:91). Many farmers have therefore looked at alternative sources of income. Thus many traditional wine farms have been commodified by adding value with a restaurant, conference centre, special events venue, overnight accommodation, as well as wine tourism.

More recently established wine farms have broken away from the traditional Cape Dutch imagery and a number of architecturally very modern wineries have been built. These farms have been able to satisfy tourists' demands more easily as they were able to design custom-made facilities to accommodate the needs and expectations of tourists through good service rather than historic experience. On the other hand, in competition with these newer estates investing in visitor turnover, the historic traditional wine farms have had to maintain their original buildings while catering for tourists' demands. They have had to alter historic buildings and/or add new buildings and facilities alongside the old historic buildings. While being at a possible disadvantage due to the lack of tourist facilities provided, they have had the benefit of heritage to attract tourists in search of an 'authentic' cultural experience. Ultimately the imagery of the traditional historic farmstead, as seen in tourist brochures and websites, still presides: 'The idyllic picture painted for tourists of beautiful wine estates, a gracious lifestyle and prosperity is a compelling one' (Viall et al 2011:91).

In his MA thesis, *Developing the Vine: Commercialization and commodification of the wine tourism product in the Stellenbosch Wine Region*, Scott looks extensively at the development of wine tourism in the Stellenbosch area, which is included in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape. His thesis focuses on the commodification aspect, rather than the conservation of the cultural heritage and the subsequent impact of tourism on it. He does, however, note that wine tourism is a form of rural tourism that involves other forms of tourism such as cultural tourism, where cultural aspects, such as customs and traditions, heritage and history, are also marketed, and in his section called 'The Mature Vintages: Heritage', Scott (2004: 56) argues that:

> Heritage manifestations contribute not only to the entire region, but also to the individuality of a wine farm, thereby expanding the wine tourism product and broadening each farm's individual attractiveness to tourists.

In the Cape Winelands, heritage and wine tourism converge to offer tourists a unique experience which is enhanced by excellent service. According to tour operators, the Cape Winelands has become one of the most popular tourist attractions in the Western Cape. However, with so many

wine farms competing for tourist numbers, tourism producers have had to be inventive and creative to make their destination more appealing and interesting than others. Apart from basic services such as wine-tasting facilities and restaurants, art galleries, glass blowing workshops, chocolate factories and beer breweries have become part of the traditional wine route experience, in an attempt to attract more tourists to a specific location:

> To compete for tourists, a location must become a destination. To compete with each other, destinations must be distinguishable, which is why the tourism industry requires the production of difference. It is not in the interest of remote destinations that one arrive in a place indistinguishable from the place one left or from any of a thousand other destinations competing for market share.
>
> It is about "profiting from difference". "Sameness" is a problem the industry faces (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:152).

It has therefore become a challenge to offer something different and distinguishable from all the other similar wine farms that will rather attract tourists to their particular destination. Alsayyad (2001:1) contends that 'tourist destinations throughout the world find themselves in ever more fierce competition for tourist dollars'. Because tourists seek difference and hospitality as economic goods, tourism producers and suppliers, in other words, tour operators, guides and managers of tourist destinations, who make their living catering to this demand, have to create "difference" by offering something unique (Alsayyad 2001:3), as tourists are always in search of new experiences.

Mugerauer (2001:98) contends that tourists create enormous pressure to 'develop fake, caricatured or stereotypical environments' within the places that they visit. Although tourists pursue traditional environments, they actually want them in terms of their own dreams, visions and imaginings, rather than that of the actual environment. As a result, 'The new norm appears to be the outright manufacture of heritage coupled with the active consumption of tradition in the built environment' (Alsayyad 2001:3). 'After all, the tourist industry is a business, and not a charity and both its ethics and aesthetics primarily respond to market demands' (Alsayyad 2001:15). Upton (2001:298) argues that:

> Capitalism no longer seeks raw materials and markets for its industrial goods alone, but cultural raw materials that can be transformed into hard cash through the conservation, restoration and outright fabrication of indigenous landscapes and traditional cultural practices for the amusement of metropolitan consumers.

He continues by stating that the increase in heritage and cultural tourism stands as another episode in the two-century history of modernity. He is greatly concerned with the transformation of local cultures and societies due to the increasingly global scale of tourism (Upton 2001:298).

In the Cape Winelands cultural landscape, the combination of heritage and wine tourism in the global marketplace has put enormous pressure on wine farms to offer different services and experiences to the tourists. This has led to the creation of fabricated and contrived places within the historic settings for the pleasure and enjoyment of tourists. This process has also led to 'place branding' where the visiting public is deceived about what the passing of time has done to the farm. Hahn describes it as follows:

> Place-branding, a form of marketing strategy that can apply on any scale, from a single building to an entire country, functions in a similar manner to branding for other products, where particular aspects of the product are emphasized and presented positively, supported by attractive stories, appealing emotions, and inviting motivations for consumption. This process inevitably leaves out sections of the place's history and cultural complexity, while inventing others to fit the presumed image of the authentic place (Hahn 2012:1).
>
> These deceptions can make the place more attractive to consumers, as they potentially simplify and strengthen the marketable brand of the place (Hahn 2012:1).

On the positive side, tourism has become a major source of income and a driver for social development issues in contemporary South Africa. Rogerson and Visser (2004:3) quote Harrison[2] who observes that 'historically, the tourism economy within Africa was essentially developed, [as Harrison observes], by colonialists for colonialists'. This is no longer the case. Currently many African governments are showing increased interest in tourism as a source of growth and diversification, as they recognise that in the appropriate policy environment, 'tourism can contribute effectively to economic and social development, including poverty alleviation' (Rogerson and Visser 2004:3), and the 2004 NEPAD[3] Tourism Action Plan states:

> Tourism is recognized as one of the sectors with the greatest potential to contribute to the economic regeneration of the continent, particularly through the diversification of African economies, and the generation of foreign exchange earnings.

[2] Prof Harrison is Head of Department of Tourism and Hospitality Management at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji.
[3] The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development, spearheaded by African leaders, to address critical challenges facing the continent: poverty, development and Africa's marginalisation internationally.

Furthermore, tourism has been viewed as an essential sector for national reconstruction and development in post-apartheid South Africa – one that offers 'enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole of the country' (DEAT[4] 2005: 6). The foundation of South Africa's new tourism policy is documented in the 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism and six guiding principles have been proposed towards the development of responsible tourism in post-apartheid South Africa. This vision has been to develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable and acceptable manner so that it will significantly contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African (Rogerson and Visser 2004:6-7).

> The scenic beauty of Cape Town, its winelands surrounds and the Garden Route, combined with wildlife tourism in Mpumalanga around the Kruger Park, remain the major draw cards for international tourists travelling to South Africa (Rogerson and Visser 2004:10).

However, some problematic areas have been identified and served as the basis for the development of the strategy. There seems to be fragmentation and disparity between the conservation needs of heritage and the development requirements of tourism. 'This is due to a lack of comprehensive data and an integrated framework for heritage and cultural tourism products' (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy 2012:10).

It is therefore important to identify/outline the relationships between tourism and heritage conservation in South Africa today. This study is an attempt to do that. According to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) *Charter of Cultural Tourism* (1976:1):

> Tourism is an irreversible, human, economic and cultural fact.
> Tourism appears to be one of the phenomena likely to exert a most significant influence on Man's environment in general and on monuments and sites in particular. In order to remain bearable this influence must be carefully studied, and at all levels be the object of a concerted and effective policy.

Given the seriousness of tourism's impact, it is especially important that all parties concerned (tour operators and managers, heritage officers and agencies) understand the importance of conserving the past while catering to present needs. The historic built environment is a non-renewable resource that needs to be conserved.

[4] The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism was the South African Governmental authority that governed tourism from 1994 to 2009.

The World Heritage Convention Act, to which South Africa is a signatory, is the primary legislation for issues concerning the establishment and management of world heritage properties in South Africa and is incorporated into South African law. The convention establishes a World Heritage Committee (WHC) to manage and maintain world-wide natural and cultural heritage sites, considered to be of outstanding universal value. Properties are nominated by their own countries and once they have met all the criteria, are inscribed in the World Heritage List (WHL) as a World Heritage Site (WHS). Although it is considered a benefit, World Heritage listing is not necessarily a guarantee of tourism growth. WHS status may enhance already popular and accessible destinations, while unknown and inaccessible locations will see relatively little growth in visitor arrivals (Timothy 2011:187).

The Cape Winelands cultural landscape was placed on the Tentative List for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, and endorsed during the 32nd session of the World Heritage Committee in 2004. In 2005 the local stakeholders developed an outline for a conservation management plan for the Cape Winelands cultural landscape, as required by the WHC. The justification for outstanding universal value, submitted in the Tentative Nomination to the World Heritage Committee by South Africa, was made as follows:

> The Cape Winelands cultural landscape developed at the beginning of globalization, enriched by influences accumulated from four continents (Africa, Asia, Europe and North America), natural elements ideally suited for viticulture and situated in a dramatic environment where a unique vernacular architecture developed. With its vineyards, orchards and fields and farmsteads, cellars, villages and towns, including the oldest city in South Africa nestling on the slopes of the Cape's mountains or on the plains along water courses, the Cape Winelands illustrate the impact of human settlement, slave labour and agricultural activities, and more specifically the production of the Cape wines, since colonialization in the mid 17th century on the natural landscape (Du Preez 2009:2-3).

Todeschini describes the Cape Winelands as an 'outstanding example of a cultural landscape' situated in a 'splendid natural environment of seascape, dramatic mountain ranges and scenic valleys' (Todeschini 2011: 51).

In order to preserve the integrity of the cultural landscape, suitable cultural tourism management plans and conservation management plans will have to be developed for the proposed Cape Winelands cultural landscape. Tourism institutions and conservation authorities will have to

collaborate to protect this valuable cultural and tourism resource. This corresponds with what the updated ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter calls for:

> Tourism should bring benefits to the host community and be planned to avoid adverse impacts on the authenticity and physical expression of the cultural heritage (ICOMOS 2002:3).

It is therefore most interesting and significant to look at the effect of tourism on our cultural heritage. Nowhere is it more profound than in the Cape Winelands where tourism demands are causing major changes while, at the same time, heritage authorities are calling for the protection and management of the cultural resources and to have the Cape Winelands cultural landscape inscribed on the World Heritage List.

The underlying motivation for tourists' experience and conservation of the built environment is the concern with authenticity. This study will therefore now be looking in more detail at authenticities in the tourist experience and in heritage conservation.

Chapter 3: Authenticities in the Tourist Experience and in Heritage Conservation.

The word “authenticity” has developed from the word “authentes” (Greek) meaning: ‘one acting on one’s own’ to the word “authentikos” (Greek) meaning: ‘original, genuine, principal’ to “autentique” (French), meaning: ‘authoritative’ (Online Etymology Dictionary). In modern use, “authenticity” is often denoted as an absolute attribute which implies the ‘real’ rather than the ‘copy’, or the ‘true’ rather than the ‘fake’.

The notion of authenticity has since been adopted and adapted by many disciplines and as the meaning of the word changed and developed from describing action (or experience) to attribute (or value), the various notions of authenticity still hovers between these two meanings.

Personal authenticity as action.

Through the ages, philosophers have debated the meaning of human life and how we as humans fit into the world. The concept of truth originated in ancient scripts such as the Bible and the Quran that have always argued for the truth versus the lie. Jokilehto states:

> The concept of ‘being authentic’ refers to being truthful, both in terms of standing alone as an autonomous human creation as well as being a true evidence of something. The concept of truth, of course, is one of the principal issues discussed in philosophy (Jokilehto 2006:8).

According to Kierkegaard, ‘the thing is to find a truth which is true for me, to find the idea for which I can live and die’ (Golomb 1995:33). In philosophy the quest for authenticity can be seen to begin with the search for authenticity of one’s own life: ‘To be authentic means to invent one’s own way and pattern of life’ (Golomb 1995:19). This way of thinking has led to the concept of existential authenticity, which signifies a special state of being in which one is true to oneself.

Heidegger distinguishes between authentic and inauthentic existence. He tried to analyse what it means to be human and how one might live an authentic life, while knowing that it is temporal (DK Publishing 2011:254). This means that one has to choose one’s own existence and identity in this world.

> His project of realizing one's identity in the context of an external world with its influences, implies a complex relationship between authenticity and inauthenticity which means that they should be viewed not as mutually exclusive concepts, but as complementary and interdependent. Heidegger argued that both authenticity and inauthenticity are basic forms of being in the world, and they cannot be separated (Yacobi 2012:3).

While there are many different philosophical views on personal authenticity, there is also a common theme: 'Personal authenticity is a dynamic process of endless becoming in a changing society and world, rather than a fixed state of being' (Yacobi 2012:3). We note then that the notion of authenticity in the field of personal identity and philosophy is a relative concept, which can only be opposed or counterbalanced by the notion of inauthenticity.

Authenticity in heritage tourism: from value to action.

The concept of authenticity has been used primarily in museums and art collections in the verification of the originality of objects and works of art. This museum-linked usage was then extended to historic buildings and, finally, to tourism in the 1970s as MacCannell introduced the concept of authenticity into sociological studies of tourists' motivations and experiences, where the authenticity of the tourist setting was under consideration. Products of tourism are now described as being authentic or inauthentic, where authenticity implies 'traditional culture and origin, a sense of the genuine, the real or the unique' (Sharpley 1994:130).

MacCannell argued that the tourist was searching for authenticity as a kind of religious or spiritual act, rather than just travelling for self-gratification. Sightseeing is seen as a form of ritual respect for society and tourism replaces some of the social functions of religion in the modern world. He further equated the motive behind pilgrimage as being similar to that behind a tour, in that both are essentially quests for authentic experiences (MacCannell 1973: 589,593). Subsequently, many tourism scholars have responded to this view and debated and elaborated on the concept which has resulted in extensive discussions. As the criteria defining authenticity in tourism changed, MacCannell's original view was challenged, with some scholars suggesting that many tourists are in fact indifferent to authenticity, while others even called for the complete abandonment of the idea (Reisinger and Steiner 2006:66).

However, as it became evident that other motivations for contemporary tourism existed, alternative notions of authenticity in tourism have been defined (Wang 1999:349). A distinction was eventually made between the authenticity of the tourist experience and the authenticity of the 'toured object' or visited site. This distinction was illustrated when Handler and Saxton (1988:243) described an authentic tourist experience as an experience where the tourists believe themselves 'to be in touch with both a 'real' world and with their 'real' selves'.

The notion of authenticity in tourism was eventually divided into object-related and activity-related authenticity, as a distinction was made between the authenticity of the toured object, and that of the authentic tourist experience (Wang 1999:351). In his paper on '*Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience'*, Wang refers to the complex nature of authenticity in tourism and then re-classifies the notion of authenticity into objective -, constructive - and existential authenticity. Steiner and Reisinger also refer to the split in the meaning of authenticity between authenticity as realness or genuineness of artifacts and events, as opposed to the sense of authenticity in experiencing one's true self (Steiner and Reisinger 2006:299).

An objective authentic experience is created by the recognition of the toured objects as authentic and the experience is absolute. The tourists will only be satisfied upon the recognition of the toured object as being real or genuine (Wang 1999:351). Objective authenticity is considered relevant to cultural or heritage tourism, which involves the representation of The Other or the past.

> Realists, objectivists and modernists maintain that authenticity can be a known reality, that objects, sites and events do have a discernible and objective genuineness that can be delineated and measured.
>
> Concepts such as objective, real, honest, unadulterated, genuine, accurate, original, untouched and legitimate garnish the thoughts and language of realists (Timothy 2011:107).

These realists include museum curators, heritage site interpreters, archaeologists and many historians. They argue that authenticity cannot be anything but objective as it can be measured and assessed against factual criteria (Timothy 2011:107).

Cohen expands on the concept of objective authentic and distinguishes multiple overlapping meanings or senses of authenticity: authenticity as 'origins', where judgment of authenticity is

based on criteria such as antiquity, traditional or authoritative certification; authenticity as 'genuineness', where authenticity means the 'real thing'; authenticity as 'pristinity', such as unadulterated nature; authenticity as 'sincerity', such as in the sincere expression of feelings; authenticity as 'creativity' such as in cultural production; and finally authenticity as 'flow of life', where activities are not interfered with or framed by tourism (Cohen 2012: 252). These meanings 'expand the scope of the concept and adapt it to contemporary realities' and confirm that there is no longer a simple measurable material quality to authenticity (Cohen 2012: 253).

Constructive authenticity is viewed as a sub-category of objective authenticity where things will appear authentic as a result of social norms, in terms of values, beliefs, practices and evaluations, and not because they are necessarily authentic. It can be constructed through a variety of subjective criteria such as tourist images, dreams and expectations of the toured objects. The tourist is satisfied with the symbolic 'objective' authenticity of the toured object, whether the object is a sight, object, site or event (Wang 1999:351). Authenticity is not necessarily inherent in the objects and places, but is simply based on judgements made about heritage destinations by consumers:

> Relics, heritage places and historical occurrences have different meanings for different people, and their level of authenticity is negotiable between visitors, curators and service providers (Timothy 2011:107-108).

In this constructivism the idea is that there are many stakeholders, all of whom have different perceptions on authenticity, who are involved in created heritage experiences. Tourists' own heritage and emotional attachment to the places being visited are revealed in their own levels of experienced authenticity: 'Governments, business leaders, tour guides, culture brokers, ethnic groups and the tourists themselves all have their own views of authenticity and have a part to play in creating genuine experiences' (Timothy 2011:108). This notion of authenticity is entirely relative, variable and negotiable. (This notion resonates with the notion of values attached to heritage resources and how different stakeholders have different views. This will be discussed further in later sections).

In comparison, existential authenticity is essentially activity-related and as such considered a justifiable alternative source for authentic experiences in tourism. Tourists feel a sense of authenticity because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities and they are also having an

"authentically good time". Existential authenticity is the result of the personal feelings awakened by tourist activities. They are experiencing 'authenticity of being'. 'Tourism is therefore an effective way used in search of the authentic self' (Wang 1999:360).

More often than not, existential authenticity is not concerned with whether the toured objects are authentic or not. The authenticity of the toured object is no longer a requirement. This has led tourism producers, such as tour operators and destination managers, to construct a false world where fake and real is often juxtaposed without distinctions or boundaries. The tourist thus becomes entrapped in a simulated 'tourist space' that has been constructed for them by the tourist enterprise and industry (Hillman 2007:2). Baudrillard even refers to the simulation of the original and the idea that the fake is eventually preferred to the real, where a hyper–reality is created which is more real than the real, and the originals have vanished (Baudrillard 1988: 41).

The notion of existential authenticity therefore explains a wider range of tourism phenomena as object-related authenticity is no longer accepted as the only motivation for tourist experiences. The tourists' quest for authenticity, being the foundation for their motivation, is therefore broadened and finds expression in the idea of the *gaze*. In *The Tourist Gaze*, Urry sets out to explain that there is something very particular about the *gaze* employed by tourists. It is a specific activity, motivated by a specific expectation that only tourists have when they view others or other places from a perceived distance.

The Tourist Gaze

> When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter (Urry 2009:1).

According to Urry (2009:6), tourist places 'are chosen to be gazed upon'. Through daydreaming and fantasy, there is a sense of expectation, of the possibility of a pleasurable experience, different from that normally encountered. This expectation is constructed and maintained through a variety of practices such as the web, film, television, literature, magazines, records and videos, which create and reinforce that gaze. The gaze is thus constructed through signs, and ultimately 'tourism involves the collection of signs' (Urry 2009:3).

The Tourist Gaze is therefore a specific visual action directed at an unfamiliar object, motivated by the expectation that it will provide the gazer with a pleasurable experience. The unfamiliar object can be any natural or cultural place or any person or group of people outside the viewer that can be seen as extraordinary. Urry explains:

> I have strongly argued for the significance of the gaze to tourist activities. This is not to say that all the other senses are insignificant in the tourist experience. But I have tried to establish that there has to be something distinctive to gaze upon, otherwise a particular experience will not function as a tourist experience. There has to be something extraordinary about the gaze (Urry 2009:117).

Urry goes on to say that tourist sites can be classified in terms of three opposing views: whether they are an object of the romantic or collective tourist gaze; whether they are historical or modern; or whether they are presented as authentic or inauthentic. The third view, whether tourist sites are presented as authentic or inauthentic, raises the most questions (Urry 2009:94) and is the focus of this study.

Urry also refers to MacCannell who argued that: 'All tourists, for MacCannell, embody a quest for authenticity, and this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred' (Urry 2009:9). Subsequently, however, Urry argued that the quest for authenticity was too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism (Urry 1991:51). It is this so-called quest for authenticity that will be explored further.

Authenticity as action: A quest by tourists

In his book, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism*, Timothy (2011) examines the work of different scholars who have identified various types and degrees of authenticity in the tourism experience. He refers to social historian Daniel Boorstin who had said as early as the 1960s that people travelled away from home in search of fun and excitement. According to Boorstin, tourists did not care about the authenticity of the places they visited, and in fact he claimed that tourists actually sought environments that were inauthentic, fake and fabricated for their use and preferred contrived, artificial experiences. This is consistent with Eco's 1973 book, Travels in Hyperreality, where he states: 'we are giving you the reproduction so you will no longer feel any need for the original' (Eco 1990: 19).

MacCannell takes a different view and suggests that tourists are in fact seekers of authenticity but have been deceived by the tourism producers into experiencing fabricated environments and fake settings (MacCannell 1973:599). He further argues that the ignorance of the tourists themselves, coupled with the shrewdness of the tourism producers, have set up or staged cultural landscapes, living cultures and local lifestyles for tourist consumption which have resulted in a system of 'staged authenticity'. Staged authenticity occurs where any site is specifically framed or marked for tourism. According to him, any site ceases to be fully authentic once it is marked as such (MacCannell 1973:597).

Urry, however, insists that tourists do have the ability to discern the contrived nature of heritage places, and suggests that the postmodern tourist 'finds pleasure in the multitude of games that can be played and knows that there is no authentic tourist experience' (Urry 2002 :91). Cohen confirms that tourists are able to distinguish between real and staged tourist settings. He created a matrix to illustrate the level of awareness that tourists have regarding the staged or real environments which they visit, and identified four typical situations: where tourists encounter an objectively authentic place and recognize it as such; where tourists are presented with a staged situation and they are unable to tell that it is unauthentic; where the tourists doubt the authenticity even though it is real; and lastly where the setting is openly 'staged' and the tourists are aware of the simulated setting (Timothy 2011:105).

The postmodernist viewpoint is that authenticity is irrelevant to most tourists as their primary motive is entertainment, relaxation and fun. The existential tourists are aware that places are inauthentic and are in fact rather distrustful of so-called authenticity. They acknowledge that authenticity is unnecessary for a satisfying tourist experience and are satisfied with contrived tourist productions or settings. They actually prefer a world of hyper-reality as tourism landscapes become more and more "Disneyfied". Furthermore, 'they are grounded in inauthenticity rather that authenticity, everything is packaged specifically for mass tourism consumption and the tourist experience becomes standardized, predictable, controlled and efficient' (Timothy 2011:108).

Herbert suggests that objective authenticity is less important and that it is more important for a tourist to have an authentic experience, and he proposes the question, that if a tourist seeks an experience which is meaningful to them, 'should we be concerned whether that experience draws upon fact or reality, or whether or not the two can be distinguished?' Then he goes on to answer

his own question by saying: 'probably not. If the experience is authentic to the visitor, that is sufficient' (Herbert 1995:45).

Boorstin, MacCannell, Urry, Cohen and Wang all demonstrate various notions related to authenticity in tourism and that all places and objects are not necessarily authentic to everyone (Timothy 2011:107), or are even required to be. Wang's notion of existential authenticity is finally considered a justifiable alternative source for authentic experiences in tourism.

This particular notion of authenticity in tourism appears to be incompatible with the concept of authenticity and integrity in conservation. Although different values, including touristic values, will be assessed when determining significance for a given heritage related project, total disregard of material or objective authenticity will be considered problematic for scholars of heritage.

Authenticity explored in other academic works

In his dissertation on *The Role of Tourism in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage, with Particular Relevance for South Africa*, van Zyl also briefly addresses the issue of authenticity in heritage tourism and he summarises the diverse views on the concept of authenticity in heritage tourism. He also agrees that these views vary significantly, from the view of Wall that 'in its purest form, authenticity would require the absence of tourists, so that an authentic tourist experience, as it relates to heritage of others, is an impossibility'; to the view of Schouten that 'visitors in most cases are not looking for scientific historical evidence' and that 'they may even be only partly interested in historical reality'. Then he refers to the views of Boniface and Fowler, who want 'extra authenticity', that which is even better than reality, where people want a fantastic, hyper-real experience of what they believe the past should have been (Van Zyl 2005:108).

Van Zyl also notes the distinction between a tourist attraction as a physical entity as opposed to one that is defined as an experience. He further lists different authors who refer to the value of the experience as a level of tourist satisfaction (Van Zyl 2005: 109). Van Zyl ultimately proposes that:

> The sustainable development of a community's cultural heritage for the purposes of tourism should have as its focus the conservation and accurate interpretation thereof, as opposed to the creation of a contrived or artificial environment. This is the ideal (2005: 107).

Authenticity as value in heritage conservation

When we believe something to be authentic, we make a value judgement about the thing or the object. We assume that it is the original article, made from the original materials or made in a traditional way, and that it is not a copy. While this assumption is easy to accept or tolerate with regards to small artifacts or articles, it becomes more complicated when the object is a building or a group of buildings. Buildings are built over time, some even over hundreds of years.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of authenticity (the quality of being genuine or original), was primarily used in relation to art and artifacts, and later extended to historic buildings. In this context, its use has also been problematic. Historians usually assumed that authenticity of an object was related to its origin in time. This then implied that subsequent alteration and preservation were inauthentic in terms of its origin (Wang 199:366). This could be true of a work of art or an artifact, but most historic buildings that were constantly used and subsequently maintained, were regularly in the process of being altered: 'the problem is that there is no absolute point of origin, nor is anything static, rather, change is constant' (Wang 1999: 366 & Bruner 1994:407). As Lowenthal further pointed out:

> It is far better to realize the past has always been altered than to pretend it has always been the same (Lowenthal 1985:412).

Most historic buildings have undergone some changes, even if only maintenance-related ones. However, in the context of conservation of the built environment, authenticity has become a qualifying factor for assessing values in the protection and preservation of historical buildings and any conservation endeavours, which may include interventions, should aim to maintain the authenticity of a specific historical building. The Venice Charter (1964: 1) called for the protection of historic monuments, proclaiming that:

> It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.

The Venice Charter laid down principles for the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings. At the time, it meant that a building had to be 'read' and interpreted by so-called experts who would analyse the fabric and decide which parts they considered to be authentic and what had to be conserved.

Since the drafting of the Venice Charter (1964) and the World Heritage Convention (1972) the subject of authenticity in conservation has been debated extensively as the concept of authenticity became more difficult to define. In 1994, an expert meeting on the issue of authenticity in the context of the World Heritage Convention was hosted in Nara, Japan. During the conference Lowenthal argued that the concept of authenticity has changed over time and that it could no longer be viewed as an absolute value or as a set of unshakeable principles; and called for a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the criteria for valueing authenticity in the designation, interpretation and conservation of heritage (Lowenthal 1995:123). The concept of authenticity in the field of conservation of heritage was broadened in the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity*, which is acknowledged by conservationists worldwide. It was further accepted that the notion of authenticity may have different meanings for different cultures and that judgements of value and authenticity could not be based on fixed criteria. Authenticity judgements could refer to form and design, materials and substance, use and function, workmanship and techniques, setting of the site and spirit and feeling.

The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) therefore makes special reference to cultural diversity as an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness and the need to judge cultural heritage within the cultural context to which it belongs:

> Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity (1994 art 9).

This made the understanding of the truthfulness of information sources a fundamental prerequisite for the definition of authenticity.

It was subsequently recognised that authenticity should also be explored in the context of a particular cultural area and during the ICOMOS *Inter-American Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of the Cultural Heritage* in San Antonio, Texas, it was agreed that 'authenticity is a concept much larger than material integrity' (Declaration of San Antonio 1996:2).

According to the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994:3), conservation is defined as: 'all efforts designed to understand cultural heritage, know its history and meaning, ensure its material

safeguard and, as required, its presentation, restoration and enhancement'. Conservation work is therefore a process requiring understanding and appreciation of a world of significances, not just limited to the material (Jokilehto 2006:5).

This approach has become known as the value-based approach to conservation, and has developed out of the notion that a critical assessment should be made of all the various values attached to a certain conservation/restoration project, and that a policy and strategy should be determined which would best address all the conflicting values for that specific project. A hierarchy of values will be different for every project, and where conflicts are difficult to resolve, effective communication and negotiation will be required to appraise values (Mason 2003:35). As explained by Townsend, referring to the ideas of Brandi and Bonelli:

> To understand the object or building and its current state critically in order to preserve the historical and artistic meaning and significance and then to give a new life, a new current meaning: this is the idea at the core of critical restoration (Townsend 2012:3).

The core notion behind value-led conservation is that, in order to reach an equilibrium among all parties involved, conservation decision-making should be based on the analysis of the values an object possesses for different people (Muñoz Viñas 2005:179). Contemporary ethics ask them to consider the different groups of people, and to decide not just which meanings should prevail, but also how to combine them to satisfy as many views as possible. Muñoz Viñas calls this alternative contemporary theory of conservation, 'the revolution of common sense: the revolution of understanding why, and for whom, things are conserved' (Muñoz Viñas 2005:214).

Authenticity in conservation has therefore become negotiable, and will have different meanings for different people. Value should be assigned to the issue of authenticity, and all the different values should be assessed when final decisions are made about the conservation of a historic building or precinct.

> It is essential to realize that these values are not fixed or intrinsic; they are situational, constructed and shaped by the time, place, and people involved in articulating them. They are not chimerical, but they do change and get reinterpreted, and indeed should be *expected* to change (Mason 2003:33).

Authenticity in conservation, as in philosophy, is therefore also a relative notion that will change as society changes. According to Bruner:

> No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history (Bruner 1994:408).

Authenticity as action in World Heritage Convention

According to the World Heritage Convention, authenticity is not a singular value attributed to an object, but it is affected by a complex set of cultural values that are understood and judged before an evaluation is made.

> The fundamental conditions for the qualification of cultural sites to the World Heritage List include the requirement to satisfy the notions of **authenticity** and **integrity** (Jokilehto 2006:2).

The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* sets out the requirement for authenticity in Articles 79–86 (UNESCO 2013:21-22). Cultural heritage properties must meet the conditions of authenticity. The *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) is used to provide a practical basis for examining the authenticity of such properties.

Cultural heritage must be considered and judged primarily within the cultural contexts to which they belong, as judgements about value attributed to cultural heritage, as well as the credibility of related information sources, may differ from culture to culture. Properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting (UNESCO 2013 art 82). This means that a building as cultural heritage may have value and significance in various dimensions of authenticity: in its particular design, the particular use it may have or have had, the materials used in construction, the demonstration of traditional building skills, its particular setting and location within a landscape (or cityscape) and its associated meanings which could include spiritual associations. The notion of authenticity in the World Heritage Convention is also relative and negotiable yet based on knowledge and understanding and interpretation of truthful information sources.

To summarise the chapter: the notion of authenticity has its origin in philosophy where it developed from a search for understanding what it meant to be human in a world at a particular time. The idea of being truthful and genuine as an action was then transmitted to objects, and eventually objects such as art and artifacts could be distinguished as having a value, either being true or false. This was later also extended to include monuments and buildings, which were categorised as being either authentic or not. This quest for finding truth was later translated to tourists' search for genuine or true places. The concept was then further developed to include authentic tourist experiences as actions, rather than actual authentic places, as values. And finally, the notion of existential authenticity of tourists being in the 'true' world with their 'true' selves (Handler and Saxton 1988: 45), changes the focus again from value to action. Similarly, the notion of authenticity in conservation has also changed from being an absolute value to action, where authenticity has become a process of evaluation.

Chapter 4: Case Studies

Brief background to the Cape Winelands and Cape Dutch architecture

Todeschini describes the Cape Winelands as possessing a scenic combination of small historic towns, farmlands and wine estates. 'The area is the product of a complex history and comprises heritage resources of local, regional, national and even international value' and 'the Cape Winelands is an outstanding example of a cultural landscape: it is situated in a splendid natural environment of seascape, dramatic mountain ranges and scenic valleys comprising a range of terroir conditions ideally suited to viticulture' (Todeschini 2011:51). The Cape Winelands illustrate the collective impact of human settlement on the environment, which included interaction and influences by people from four continents, slave labour practices, agricultural activities, production of wines and the development of a unique vernacular architecture as a result of colonization of the Cape from the mid seventeenth century (Todeschini 2011:51).

The wine industry in the Cape has a history of 350 years. It is this long shared history that fascinates visitors to the Cape Winelands even though all the farms have not necessarily always been producing wine. As mentioned earlier, the Cape Winelands is one of the top three tourist destinations in the Western Cape due to its scenic qualities and wine tourism. Unfortunately, tourism development pressures are now compromising the conservation of heritage resources in the Cape Winelands, specifically of the typical Cape Dutch farmsteads for which it is renowned.

In order to evaluate the impact of tourism on the historic built form of a typical Cape Dutch farm, a brief background to Cape Dutch architecture also needs to be given. It is mainly this unique style of vernacular architecture, which is an intrinsic part of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape, which is valued and conserved as authentic cultural objects. As per the ICOMOS Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage:

> The built vernacular heritage occupies a central place in the affection and pride of all peoples. It has been accepted as a characteristic and attractive product of society. It appears informal, but nevertheless orderly. It is utilitarian and at the same time possesses interest and beauty. It is a focus of contemporary life and at the same time a record of the history of society. Although it is the work of man it is also the creation of time. It would be unworthy of the heritage of man if care were not taken to conserve these traditional harmonies which constitute the core of man's own existence (ICOMOS 1999: 1).

Cape Dutch architecture developed its distinctive features as a result of locally available materials and skills. Walls were built with sundried bricks on a stone base and plastered with lime to protect the bricks from weathering; hand-hewn timber was used for the roof structures and the roofs were covered with locally available reeds which served as thatching material. The first houses that were built were small and acted as simple shelters. As the Cape became more prosperous, houses were enlarged and high gables were added.

Traditional Cape Dutch farmsteads typically comprised of a *werf* with a homestead and a collection of outbuildings. The approach to the *werf* was through an avenue of trees, usually oak, often placed on axis with the homestead. The *werf* is enclosed in a long low, whitewashed wall with tall entrance piers celebrating the approach. Outbuildings typically consisted of a *jonkershuis*,[5] a wine cellar, stables, a chicken coop and slave quarters, which were placed around the homestead, reinforcing the axial or linear arrangement of the farmstead. A slave-bell was placed in the yard to call slaves to and from their work. De Bosdari sums up the effect of a typical Cape Dutch homestead:

> In the African sunlight, the white gable gleams, and the shadows across it have something of blue: the thatch changing from honey-brown to black-purple velvet, defies pen and camera alike. The teak of entrance-door and shutters is glossy with the elbow-grease of two centuries. Behind is the high mountain, and, above, a blue sky, cloudless. There is spaciousness, tranquility, dignity. No need here for haste: time stands still (De Bosdari 1965: 31).

Cape Dutch architecture developed its iconic style, according to Yvonne Brink, to challenge the oppression of the free-burghers by the officials of the Dutch East India Company (Brink 2008:109). While other historians will prefer to relate the designs of the gables to those done in Holland, it remains uncontested that the landowners expressed their commercial success and financial status by improving their homesteads and erecting stately gables during the time of wealth at the Cape. The design of the front gable of the homestead was individualized and varied according to popular styles such as florid baroque- or pedimented neo-classical gables. With the high white decorated gable contrasting with the high dark thatched roof, a large front door placed centrally and the windows arranged symmetrically around them, the houses became very prominent and celebrated from the late-eighteenth century onwards. It was this iconic style that was also used by the government of the Union of South Africa to foster and guide a common English/Afrikaner identity in the early parts of the twentieth century.

[5] A *Jonkershuis* is the Afrikaans name given to the smaller dwelling house, usually built and occupied by the son of the farmer, that was often part of the typical farmstead.

Cape Dutch architecture was, however, not always revered and appreciated. Towards the end of the nineteenth century many buildings fell into decay as the old sun-dried brick walls began to crumble. Some buildings were even demolished and replaced by new farm buildings as new fashions and better materials were employed (Coetzer 2013:19). However, as a political incentive, Cape Dutch architecture became the icon of a common European culture, which could be mutually claimed by the British and the Afrikaners alike. During this time, when the rise of nationalists agendas was endemic throughout the world, this newly discovered 'common heritage' served to strengthen the British Empire's role in South Africa (Coetzer 2013:21).

There was a sudden interest by the (mostly English) elite to purchase and restore Cape Dutch farmsteads as they were seen as the material artifacts of this common heritage. Prominent leaders, such as John X. Merriman, Prime Minister of the Cape and the main proponent of the new Union of South Africa, bought the farmstead Schoongezicht in 1892. Cecil John Rhodes, the premier of the Cape bought Jan Van Riebeeck's barn in Rondebosch in 1892 and refurbished the residence to the Cape Dutch style and gave it a Dutch name (Coetzer 2013:22).

The preservation of Cape Dutch farmsteads became the objective of many different institutions, such as the Cape Institute of Architects, the South African National Society and the Closer Union Society. Cape Dutch architecture was photographed, measured, documented, drawn and became the topic of articles and books, student projects and lectures. Preservation of Cape Dutch architecture thus became a major focus while it also served grander nationalists goals (Coetzer 2013:28). The Historical Monuments Commission was established and an 'inordinate amount' of Cape Dutch homesteads became national monuments of South Africa (Coetzer 2013:29). Most of these were historical reconstructions and the reconstruction of Groot Constantia in 1925 by Kendall after it had been burnt extensively, was regarded as a model for 'restoration' for the next sixty to seventy years (Townsend 2014: 16).

These iconic monuments were not only admired on home soil. During the Empire exhibition at Wembley, London in 1924, a replication of the front gable of Groot Constantia, the most revered Cape Dutch farmstead (attributed to Simon van der Stel, the first governor of South Africa) served as the iconic symbol of South Africa (Coetzer 2013:38). As Cape Dutch architecture was elevated to become a 'South African' style, Baker developed a distinctive Cape Dutch *revival* style, mostly un-typically double-storied, which became popular with wealthy suburban home owners, from Cape

Town to Johannesburg. This can be viewed as Baker's reinterpretation of the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movements, seeing the organic development of the style that had developed out of the response to place, yet using the opportunity 'to explore building as a creative and artistic medium' (Coetzer 2013:68).

Cape Dutch architecture continued to be revered and restored and was much later also used by the politicians of the Nationalists Party in the 1960s and '70s to endorse a sense of pride and nationalism during Apartheid (Coertzer 2013:29). During this time, despite the introduction of the Venice Charter (1964), which led to the internationally accepted practices later described, South Africa continued on the path of restoration being 'the professional repair of a structure and or site as far as possible to ONE stage in its history', as per the "Potch Charter" of 1982. According to Townsend; 'This was, of course, rooted in the establishment's political and aesthetic predilections and needs' (Townsend 2014: 17). Many Cape Dutch farmsteads were consequently restored according to this practice to display the grandeur of white settlement. This can be seen as the State 'curating the nation'; with the State acting as curator, deciding which monuments, statues, memorials and museums to display to the nation (Witz 2003:11).

After an earthquake at Tulbagh, a town in the Western Cape, destroyed a large area of the town during 1969, a complete street was stylistically reconstructed to a 'preferred' Cape Dutch period in history, to represent something that has never been before. 'In this way the whole street would become a record of domestic architecture of that period' (Fagan 2005:62). In some quarters it is being argued that South African restorers were echoing the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc who viewed restoration as follows: 'To restore a building is to re-establish it in a completed state that may never have existed at any given moment' (Choay 2001: 104). However, there is no evidence that any restoration work done during this time were consciously following these precepts.

This practice prevailed until 1992 when the State employed Revel Fox[6] to undertake restorations at Groot Constantia:

> It was reported at the time that the 'thorough' restoration work that was being done at Groot Constantia was considered important to ensure the conservation of the farmstead's cultural heritage 'for posterity' and also to enable Groot Constantia to fulfil its important function as a tourist attraction (Leibman 2012: 96).

[6] The late Revel Fox was the founder principal architect of Revel Fox and partners.

Today Cape Dutch architecture is still used as imagery in tourist brochures and promotional material to encourage tourism in the Western Cape (Fig.1). 'With their symmetrical gabled façades and thatched roofs set against the drama of ragged mountains, these 250 year old Cape Dutch homesteads are easy icons of the Cape and its tourism industry' (Coetzer 2013:19).

Figure 1: Photo of Groot Constantia, icon of Cape Dutch architecture and the Cape Winelands cultural landscape (www.cedarberg-travel.co.za).

Cape Dutch architecture is viewed once more as our common cultural heritage, where all people associated with the early settlements of the Cape (including the slaves and local people who were working on farms), are acknowledged:

> There is nevertheless recognition that despite this tumultuous past that is referred to as 'unsavoury', the Cape Winelands is recognized as a physical manifestation which reflects the achievements of both slaves and their masters (Leibman 2012: 130).

Many new modern wine farms have lately been developed in the Cape Winelands, with brand new tourist related facilities boasting the latest designs and technologies. They offer a variety of experiences and services to tourists, such as wine-tasting venues, restaurants, art galleries, guest accommodation, health spas and shops.

In an attempt to compete with these new wine farms for tourist numbers, traditional farms have added or incorporated new tourist facilities within or adjacent to their farmsteads, and as I have

said, it is these traditional *werf* patterns that are most at risk of being compromised in the attempt to accommodate the additional needs of tourists. New approach routes with big parking areas have been designed, new buildings have been constructed and the harmony or spatial order of the original *werf* has been disturbed.

To study this phenomenon, three wine farms are explored to demonstrate the impact of tourism on the historic built form. The histories of the farms are recorded once formal ownership was introduced by the Dutch East India Company and colonial settlers began to settle and farm on these properties.

Rustenburg Wines at Schoongezicht farm, Stellenbosch: A story of concerted conservation.

As explained in the methodology section, the marketing of the tourist product of each farm on the web was first explored:

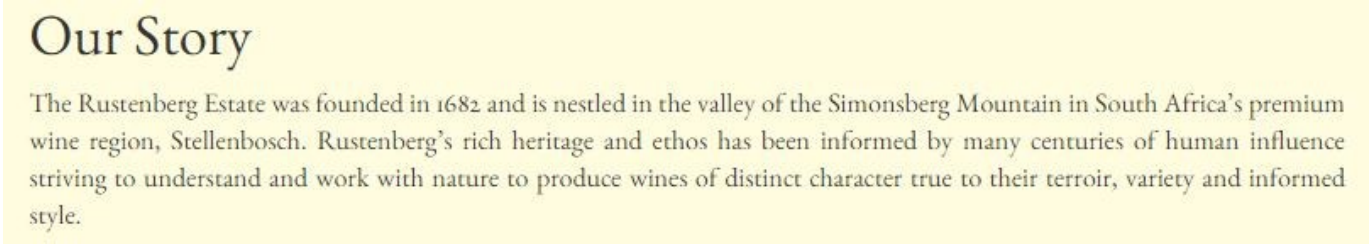

Figure 2: Web clip for Rustenberg Wines (www.rustenberg.co.za)

According to the insert above (Fig. 2) which can be found on the farm's web page, the estate is marketed as being a serious wine farm with a long history of making fine wine. The farm further promotes its rich heritage and the fact that man and nature combined have produced excellent wine. The web page further gives the browser the opportunity to learn more about the history of the farm, the grounds and the garden.

Rustenberg Wines at Schoongezicht farm is located in a cul-de-sac valley, called the Ida's Valley, north of the historic town of Stellenbosch (Fig. 3). Most of the valley had been in the ownership of two families for generations. Ida's Valley is a typical, and simultaneously, a uniquely special, example of the Cape Winelands. It is particularly unspoilt in the context of the Cape Winelands, as a large portion of it has been protected by its owners and by heritage authorities for forty years, since it was declared a national monument in 1976 (Todeschini and Kruger 2012:20). A description of the landscape:

> The site is a natural valley closed at one end by the majestic Simonsberg, with a combination of vineyards, orchards, pastures and vegetated terrain spanning the lower slopes and valley floor. It is a topographic entity, visually and geographically spanning from ridgeline to ridgeline and inclusive of the Kromme River valley-bottom. The valley lies just outside the urban edge of the town of Stellenbosch and is bordered at the foot of the valley by the suburb of Ida's Valley. The zoning is predominantly agricultural, and much of the valley is still farmed (Todeschini and Kruger 2012:5).

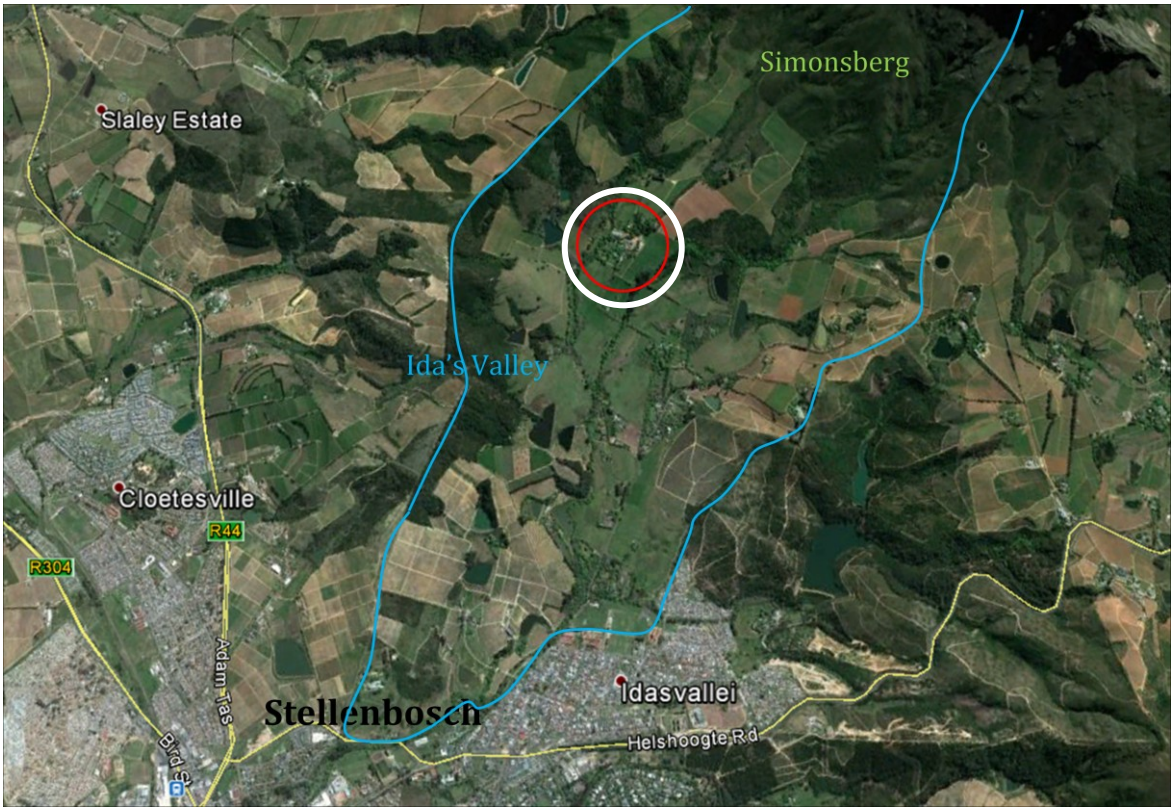

Figure 3: Location of Rustenberg wines at the farmstead, Schoongezicht. GPS Coordinates S 33˚53'44" E 18˚53'33" (www.google earth)

The story of two farms – a brief history:

The original farm, Rustenberg, was granted to a German, Roelof Pasman in 1682. When Pasman died, his widow remarried Pieter Robbertse, who then became the registered owner of the farm in 1699. Robbertse later became the *Landdrost*[7] of Stellenbosch from 1703 to 1705. In 1783 the farm became the property of Jacob Eksteen, from Bergvliet, who later portioned off a large section of the farm to his son-in-law, Arend Brink, in 1810. This portion of the farm was subsequently named Schoongezicht. Before the formal deduction was made, a house had already been built on part of the land that was promised to Brink. The original house was most probably a plain rectangle. In 1811, Brink sold the portion of the farm, now called Schoongezicht, to Hendrik Cloete. Cloete transformed the rectangular house into an H-shaped plan by adding the front part of the house. He added a high *stoep*[8] due to the slope, and built both the back and front gables. The design of the gables were based on the gable at Groot Constantia and is dated 1814 (Fransen 2004:201; De Bosdari 1964:64). Cloete was a descendant of Hendrik Cloete who owned Groot Constantia, which could be why the gables are similar.

[7] *Landdrost* is the Dutch word for magistrate.
[8] *Stoep* is the Afrikaans word for a raised patio.

As separate farms, Rustenberg and Schoongezicht have both been successful early in the 1800s with stately homesteads and flourishing vineyards. Unfortunately, due to the decline of the wine trade and the phylloxera disease which destroyed vineyards throughout the Cape in the 1880s, both farms eventually fell into disrepair and bankruptcy. In 1892, John X. Merriman (the then Prime Minister of the Cape) saw the beauty and potential of Schoongezicht and purchased it, while his brother-in- law, Sir Jacob Barry, purchased the original farm, Rustenberg (Fig. 4).

Peter and Pamela Barlow finally purchased Rustenberg in 1941, and later added the farm Schoongezicht. The farms were reunited once more, now again known as Rustenberg, and have been in the Barlow family for more than 60 years. Currently Simon Barlow and his family are running the properties. They are keen conservation orientated owners and have worked with the other owners of property in the Ida's Valley to conserve and protect the valley as a whole.

Figure 4: Photograph showing the Merriman family on the stoep at Schoongezicht. (Michael Olivier 2011)

Explanation of the historic built form:

The homestead, Schoongezicht, is situated beyond a wide stretch of grass and offers a striking view from the approach below the house. According to Fransen:

> The homestead has few equals in the Cape. The front façade is in perfect order, as is the high stoep with end seats and a double flight of steps. The end facade, too, is well preserved. The end gables are holbol[9]; one side-court is filled in (Fransen 2004:202).

[9] Holbol is the description for a gable type formed with concave and convex curves alternated with small straight mouldings corresponding to the triangular gable outline.

The interior of the house is still intact with most of its original features, such as a fine louvred teak screen across the full width of the *voor-en-agter kamer*[10] (Fransen 2004:202). In 1922 Dorothea Fairbridge wrote the following about Schoongezicht:

> Like most old houses in the country Schoongezicht is H-shaped and has very fine gables. Those over the front and back are of the type frequently seen on the eighteenth-century houses of Holland, while the four end-gables are of the graceful form most commonly found at the Cape. Within is a good louvred teak screen, cutting off the *voorhuis* from the dining-room beyond, and the doors, floors and ceilings are all of fine yellow-wood. Schoongezicht has a very high stoep, once surrounded by an iron railing on which hung a speaking-trumpet, through which Hendrik Cloete was wont to shout his orders to the slaves working in the wide vineyards below, while he sat on the stoep and drank coffee (Fairbridge 1922:123).

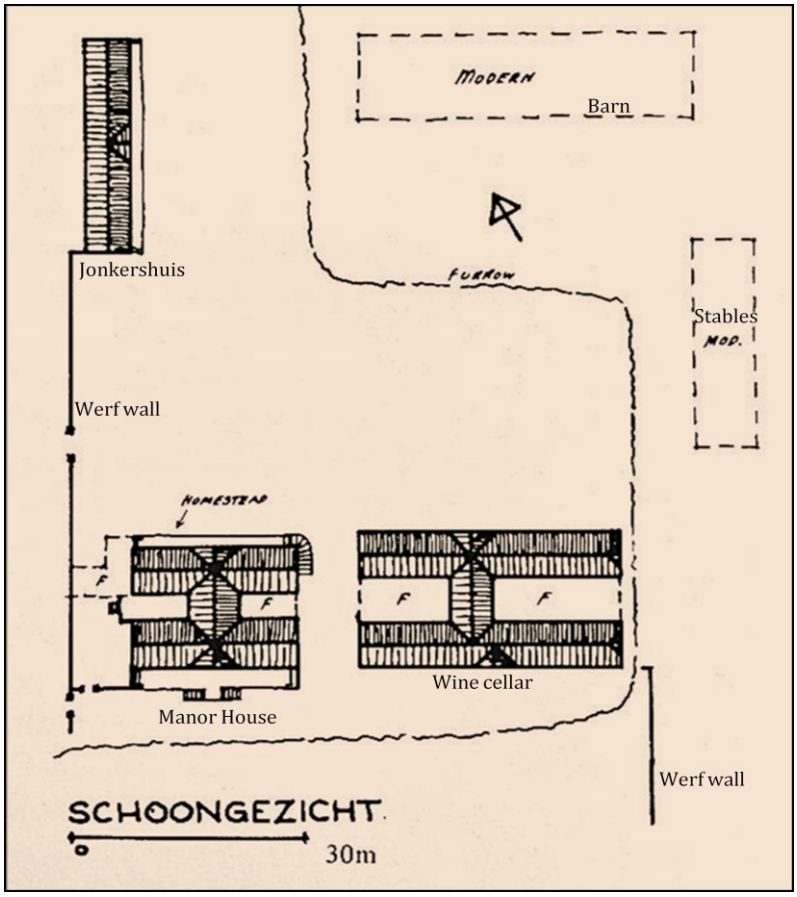

Figure 5: Lay-out of historic built form at Schoongezicht farmstead (Fransen 1980:159). Annotations supplied.

There is an H-shaped wine-cellar alongside the house. Due to the sloping terrain the builder dug into the slope at the back, creating a half sunken cellar (Fransen 2004:202). The lay-out of the historic precinct comprising of the homestead, wine cellar and *jonkershuis* with *werf* enclosure can be seen in Fig 5.

[10] Afrikaans for 'front' and 'back' room. Typical Cape Dutch homes have a division between the front of the house which is the public entrance and the back of the house which is private.

According to De Bosdari: 'There is a wine-cellar with a florid gable of 1800, a late example of this type: the remaining outbuildings are modern, but in keeping with the house' (De Bosdari 1964:64). Three outbuildings form an enclosed space at the back of the house and cellar. Although they are later additions, they were erected on the sites of old buildings (Fransen 2004: 202).

Conservation work that has been completed:

According to Todeschini and Kruger, the Ida's Valley's spectacular wilderness and rural setting, its many interesting and significant natural and adapted features and historic landscape and building complexes, make for such an exemplary environment that it was declared a National Monument in 1976 (Todeschini and Kruger 2012: 4). Due to the change of legislation in 1999 as described earlier, the valley, together with all former declared national monuments, was designated as a provincial heritage site. A privately funded research project was launched to draw up an electronic database of heritage resources and to re-nominate the valley as a National Heritage Site and to prepare an integrated conservation management plan as part of the process (Todeschini 2011:53).

The historic buildings on the farm have all been maintained and preserved by the Merrimans and were later restored by the Barlows. Lance Ellsworth, an architect who had previously worked on the restoration of Vergelegen, was employed to do the restoration work (Goldblatt et al 1981: 74). Buildings that were later added on the footprints of older buildings were built by the Barlows in the 1940s, and match the historic buildings in scale, form and materials.

Current built-form and use of the farm as a tourist destination:

MapStudio's *My Wineroute,* introduces Rustenberg Wines as follows to prospective tourists:

> With about 154ha of vineyards at his disposal, Simon's son Murray Barlow took charge of the winemaking team at Rustenburg from 2011. Production is around 535000 liters a year, and the flagships include a Cabernet, Shiraz and Chardonnay in a portfolio also comprising a Rousanne, Bordeaux-and Rhône- style red blends plus a Straw Wine for desserts. Activities on the estate range from weddings to public viewings of the gardens at Schoongezich and occasionally those at the Barlow's normally private Rustenburg residence. But mostly visitors come for what's in the bottles, now including Ida's red and white that are easier on the pocket than the real deal (Froud 2013:95).

From this extract it is clear that the farm is particularly proud of its wine-making, and has a wine tasting facility available to tourists. Tourists who are interested may also view the historic buildings

and may stroll through the garden planted during Merrimans' ownership. The farm is also available for wedding functions. There are no other tourist attractions or facilities offered on the farm.

Rustenberg Wines, located within the farmstead of Schoongezicht, is the quintessential Cape Dutch wine farm of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape as its location within the Ida's Valley reinforces the drama between the natural and the cultural elements. After following a two-kilometre winding road lined with oaks, visitors arrive at one of the most striking situated farms in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape. The gaze encountered is indeed idyllic: a perfectly preserved Cape Dutch house perched on a *stoep* elevated above a grassed meadow and spectacular mountains as the back-drop (Fig.6).

Figure 6: The first dramatic view of the historic buildings showing the mountain backdrop and stretch of grass providing the base. Part of the historic wine cellar is visible alongside the Homestead (www.rustenberg.co.za).

Figure 7: Google map view of the farm precinct showing the approach, the sudden exposure of the historic buildings, and the wine tasting facility situated at the side of the precint (www.google maps).

The road leads visitors past the magnificently positioned historic homestead and cellar, and turns a ninety degree corner to stop at an unassuming building with a sign indicating the tasting room (Fig. 7). Due to the topography of the land, the entry point to the tasting room is at loft level, which means visitors have to ascend to the loft and then descend to the tasting area (Figs. 8 & 9). The wine tasting room was set up in a converted barn and is clearly a contemporary insertion. From the tasting room visitors have direct access to an enclosed grassed and treed space created by the surrounding farm buildings (Fig. 10). This space would have been part of the traditional *werf* or farmyard. The working part of the farm has been relocated to the back of the farm where a new wine cellar has been constructed below the ground and is not visible. Later buildings that were added to the farm do not encroach on the historic precinct and are distinguishable from the historic buildings. Two offices that were designed to look like silos are clearly later additions and do not affect the historic complex.

According to tour operators, the farm is renowned for its excellent wines, and that is the main reason why wine tourists visit the farm. Apart from its tasting room, the farm owners have not

invested in any other services and attractions to promote the farm to tourists, although the garden next to the Schoongezicht homestead is open for viewing (Fig. 11). The homestead is not presented to the public, but private functions are often held there.

According to heritage expert, Sarah Winter, the *werf* possesses a very good sense of historical layering with two nineteenth-century structures framing the forecourt space and providing a sense of arrival and a historical reference point. Winter thinks that the overall impact of the tourism facility on the significance of the historical *werf* is minimal. Visitors parking is limited and well integrated into the overall historical *werf* context. Contemporary additions are well-placed and relatively minor.

Figure 8: The entrance to the wine tasting facility. It is a bit odd because one enters into a loft space and then descends into the wine tasting room. The building used to be stables built in 1945, presumably by Peter Barlow (www.rustenberg.co.za).

Figure 9: The inside of the wine tasting room at Rustenberg Wines, on the farm Schoongezicht. The interior is contemporary and does not pretend to be historic (www.guidingadventures.co.za).

Figure 10: View from wine tasting area: courtyard with trees enclosed on all sides with historic buildings. The Jonkershuis is at the far end (PM Haring 2014).

Figure 11: Photograph showing the garden layout. The garden was started by John X Merriman and restored and adapted by Pamela Barlow. It has now become a show garden. The labyrinth was a more recent addition as it replaced an old tennis court (www. rustenberg.co.za).

Fabio Todeschini is of the opinion that the farm is an exceptional example of a historic farmstead in the Cape Winelands cultural landscape due to its magnificent setting in the valley with mountain backdrops, streams and old winding approach road leading through an avenue of trees to the farmstead. Although the agricultural use of the farm has changed throughout the years (from fruit

farming to dairy farming to vineyards) the setting in the landscape has been maintained. This has been mainly due to the prophetic vision of its owners, Peter and Pamela Barlow, who, since the 1940s, sought conservation and protection for the valley as a whole, before the onslaught of urban development pressures.

This conservation-minded approach was continued by their son and current owner, Simon Barlow, as he developed the farm into a wine producing farm, known for its fine wines worldwide. Two new offices, in the shape of silos, are considered somewhat questionable by Todeschini, as they appear to be re-used original buildings, but are actually new buildings that were never used as silos. A new wine cellar was also constructed underground, below the previous dairy, and although it was a major intervention, it had no detrimental effect on the historic precinct, as one is not even aware of it, according to Todeschini.

The only addition that Todeschini finds regrettable is the planting of a rose garden by the recent owners and the subsequent construction of a low wall at the entrance to the farm precinct, which is a foreign element that abruptly delineates the garden and is seen as a misreading of the landscape. Having said that, however, Todeschini feels that it still does not detract from the value and significance of the historic built form as it is small in scale and redeemable.

Todeschini's main concern for the future of the whole Ida's valley is the continued pressure of development along its edges that the current owners have managed to resist, and the long-term economic viability of the conservation of the farm. Adaptations will have to be made in the future to retain its material authenticity while still making it economically viable.

I used this farm as a case due to the fact that it is an exceptional example of a historic Cape Dutch farmstead in a magnificent setting which displays all the typical characteristics of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape. Although newer farm buildings have been added to the complex, the whole experience of the farm, from the tree-lined winding approach, the visual impact of seeing the farmstead and old wine cellar against the mountain backdrop, the sense of place experienced within the enclosed *werf*, all attest to the material authenticity of the complex. Being in a declared conservation area, managed and maintained by dedicated owners, has fortunately protected this gem in a sea of development and tourism related onslaughts.

This tourist experience as per Wang can be described as an object-related authentic experience, because the toured object, or historic site, is considered authentic (Wang 1999:351). The experience of travelling down the winding oak-lined road, the sudden opening up of the space and the revelation of the historic farmstead beyond the grassed meadow, provides a great sense of anticipation and arrival. The historic wine farm is 'the real thing', the archetypal wine farm with a long history of wine making and a reputation for excellent wines. For wine connoisseurs and people who appreciate the quiet, simple beauty of Cape Dutch architecture the experience is fulfilling, but for the average tourist it may not be enough. There are no extra 'thrills' attached to entice the senses. Farming activities continue as normal on the farm, without being 'framed' for the benefit of tourists. There is a sense of 'genuineness' and 'flow of life' where no farming activities are interfered with, as per Cohen's interpretations of notions of authenticity (Cohen 2012:252). Apart from the modest wine-tasting room, no artificial 'tourist space' has been created, no place-branding has occurred and no history has been invented.

La Motte, Franschhoek: A story of historic charm.

Figure 12: Web clip for La Motte (www.la-motte.com)

As can be seen (Fig 12), the web page offers prospective visitors to La Motte excellent wine, interesting cuisine, a beautiful setting and 'historic charm'. What do they mean by 'historic charm'?

Upon further exploration there is a section on the web page under the heading 'About Us', which gives information about the heritage of the farm and also informs the browser about the historic buildings on the farm.

Figure 13: Location of La Motte in the Franschhoek Valley, just before Franschhoek. GPS S 33˚53'01" E 19˚04'22" (Google Earth 2014)

La Motte forms part of the Franschhoek Valley wine route and is situated in the Franschhoek Valley, just off the R 45, surrounded by mountains and vineyards (Fig. 13). Due to its popularity as a tourist destination, Franschhoek itself has seen lots of development and the extent of the cultural landscape has been substantially reduced. Two big housing areas, Le Roux and La Motte, have been developed to provide housing for the previously disadvantaged residents in the valley. Many other farms have expanded their farming operations and have added tourist related facilities.

A brief history of the farm:

La Motte was granted to Hans Hendrik Hattingh, a German from Speyer, located in Rhineland-Palatine, in 1695. In 1709 he sold the sixty morgen farm to Pierre Joubert, a French Huguenot, who named the farm after his home in France, La Motte D'Aguis. When he died in 1732, his widow sold the farm to Jan Hendrik Hop (Brooke Simons 2002:161).

In 1752 it became the property of Huguenot descendant Gabriel du Toit, who built the original T-shaped farmhouse. He also established viticulture in 1752 with the planting of 4000 vines. Du Toit was very enterprising and soon increased the number of vines he originally planted to 25 000. In 1788 the farm was divided and the section of the farm with the house on it was bought by his son, Gerhardus Johannes du Toit (Brooke Simons 2002:161).

In 1815, Gideon Jacobus Joubert bought the farm that belonged to his great-great grandfather, Pierre Joubert, a century before. He developed the farm and added a new gable to the wine cellar, dated 1825. In 1836 he added a similar gable to the front of the house, onto which he inscribed his initials, GJJBT (Brooke Simons 2002: 162).

> It has a small pediment and a wavy outline terminating in inverted scrolls; the inner pilasters are only half-height and support a kind of simple architrave above the gable-window, which is a replica of that above the front door. The end-gables, with pointed caps, are probably contemporary with the front-gable (Fransen 2004:281).

In 1897 La Motte was bought by Cecil John Rhodes and in 1902 it was transferred to Rhodes Fruit Farms (Ltd). In 1932 it reverted to private ownership when it was purchased by Josephine Cochrane (Simons 2002:161).

In 1970 Dr Anton Rupert[11] bought the farm as a wine producing enterprise. A major development, restoration and conservation programme followed. La Motte was reinvented as a leading global wine producer and wine-tasting tours could be arranged by appointment. Vineyards have been progressively replanted with noble varieties, the latest viticulture practices have been introduced and a modern cellar was built.

As part of the restoration and conservation programme, the homestead, *jonkershuis*, wine cellar and water mill were restored by architect Gabriel Fagan in the 1970s. All the buildings subsequently received National Monuments status in 1975, by the then National Monuments Council[12]. These buildings have since been designated as Provincial Monuments in 1999 under the new legislation, when all previous National Monuments were re-designated.

Today La Motte wine estate is owned and managed by Hanneli Rupert-Koegelenberg, daughter of the late Dr Anton Rupert and her husband Hein Koegelenberg, who is the chief executive officer of the estate.

Explanation of historic built- form:

The *werf* consists of a homestead, wine cellar, *jonkershuis* with slave bell and old mill. The approach is on an axis, typically perpendicular to the homestead, through an avenue of oaks, with an entrance gate puncturing the low *werf* wall. In close proximity is an old cemetery dating back to around 1760 although some headstones bear earlier dates and may have been brought from elsewhere (Fransen 2004: 281).

The homestead, dated 1751, was originally a T-shaped farmhouse with an impressive gable built at a later stage, dated 1836 (Figs. 14 & 15). The pediment displays the initials of the owner and his wife. According to De Bosdari:

> La Motte is a T-shaped house, with very thick walls and a façade intact, with casements, to which it looks as if the gables were a later addition: the main gable is nearly identical with one on an outbuilding, dated 1825, and the end-gables are of about the same date (De Bosdari 1964: 82).

[11] Dr Anton Rupert (1916-2006) was a South African billionaire businessman, philanthropist and keen conservationist.
[12] The National Monuments Council was the national heritage conservation authority of South Africa during the apartheid era. It was replaced by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in 2000 in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999.

Figure 14: La Motte homestead (F Todeschini 2015).

Figure 15: Gable detail on La Motte homestead showing date and owners initials (Photo courtesy of La Motte).

Figure 16: Jonkershuis (F Todeschini 2015).

Figure 17: Historic wine cellar at La Motte (F Todeschini 2015).

Figure 18: The water-mill at La Motte (Photo courtesy of La Motte).

Fransen describes the façade as 'delightful' with its symmetrically placed small paned shutter casements and its horizontally divided front door (Fransen 2004: 281).

The *jonkershuis*, dated 1752, is believed to be the second oldest building on the farm and was originally used as a stable, cowshed and chicken house with a cellar (Fig. 16). The cellar was built around 1782. About 40 years later the centre gable with the initials of the new owner, Gideon Joubert (GJB), was added (Fig. 17). The water mill was believed to have been built between 1752 and 1793. It is the only working water mill of its kind. The mill machinery that is operational comes from Matjiesrivier, Ceres. It can be seen in action during 'historic walks' offered one morning a week (Fig. 18).

Conservation work that has been completed:

Dr Anton Rupert purchased the farm and began the restoration and conservation of the historic farmstead in 1970. It was at the height of Afrikaner Nationalism and all restoration projects at the time followed a historical restoration approach. The buildings were restored to their 'original' or 'best' form – to a particular moment in history. As mentioned earlier, this approach was followed after the national symposium in Potchefstroom in 1982 and the subsequent adoption of the "Potch Charter" as a set of guidelines for restoration projects in South Africa. It suitably fitted into the fabrication of a white national heritage (Townsend 2014: 17). The work was done by renowned architect Gabriel Fagan, who did thorough documentary research and carefully analysed the buildings during the process. Fagan is a well-known architect and together with his wife Gwen Fagan, they have completed many restoration projects, specifically restoring Cape Dutch buildings such as these at La Motte, to their 'former glory'.

These historic buildings are well maintained and used by their current owners, mostly for private use (Fig. 19). The historic cellar is used as a venue for classical music concerts. The homestead and *jonkershuis* are often used to accommodate private corporate guests. Although these buildings are not freely accessible to the public, the museum offers a guided tour of the historic buildings on the estate one morning a week. A brief background of the history and the heritage of the estate is given during the one and half hour tour. The tour is concluded with a tasting of bread made from the stone ground flour, purportedly milled at the water mill. Although these buildings are still in use, they appear museum-like, since no farm activities occur around them anymore. Unfortunately,

the traditional access approach through an avenue of oaks (Fig. 20) is no longer in use, and visitors approach these buildings from the back, via the visitors' complex.

Figure 19: Historic buildings at La Motte. The homestead is in the centre with the Jonkershuis to the left and the historic wine cellar to the right (Photo courtesy of La Motte).

Figure 20: Traditional approach to the historic complex (F Todeschini 2015).

Current built form and use of the farm as a tourist destination:

By 2002, La Motte was advertised in Graham Knox's book *Wines of South Africa: Exploring the Cape Winelands* (2002:159), as having no restaurant or accommodation. Wine tours could only be arranged by appointment. This all changed in 2006 when Hanneli Rupert-Koegelenberg and her husband, Hein Koegelenberg, the current owners of La Motte, introduced a new tourist orientated centre, in order to expand the services and experiences offered to tourists. They called upon the services of architects Malherbe Rust to design new tourist related facilities including a restaurant,

shop, museum and art gallery and to link it with the existing wine cellar that was enlarged in 1995 by architect Ivan Flint[13]. In 1996 a section of the wine cellar was converted into a tasting room and with the construction of the new tourist centre, a part of the cellar was converted into a barrel maturation area by Malherbe Rust.

Today La Motte is one of the most popular tourist destinations in the Franschhoek area, and offers tourists a wine tasting facility, restaurant, farm shop, museum and art gallery, historic walk, sustainable walk, sculpture walk and a hiking trail. La Motte has won many prestigious tourists awards, such as being the South African winner of the Great Wine Capitals (GWC) Best of Wine Tourism overall winner in 2012, and second runner up in the category of 'architecture and landscape.' La Motte has also won the Wine Tourism Destination of the Year award during 2013 and again in 2015, as per the Cape Winelands District Municipality Mayoral Award.

The new tourist complex was placed behind the existing historic farmstead, towards other newer farm buildings, with the aim of also linking it to the existing wine cellar to offer wine tasting (Fig 21). For ease of access and control a new entrance and route to the centre for the main use of tourists was established (Fig 22). A rose-lined paved road now leads the visitors' gaze towards a contemporary sculptural piece, called 'The Wine Bearer'. The sculpture serves as a focal point welcoming guests to the farm, as it leads them up the garden path. A sharp turn towards the left, just before the sculpture, re-directs the tourists' gaze onto another axis, this time directly towards the entrance to the tourist precinct. Tourists no longer experience the traditional oak-lined approach leading to the historic farmstead. The historic precinct is hardly visible from this new route (Fig 23).

On arrival, the visitor's gaze is directed towards the reception building. The building has typical Cape Dutch features with white-washed walls and green shutters. A very modern glass front door, which appears to be a modern insertion in an older building, provides direct access to the reception and administration building (Fig 24). Visitors are welcomed by a receptionist and are guided towards their preferred activities. Directly across from the entrance door is another glassed door that leads onto a large enclosed grassed and treed space, with a shop, a restaurant and a museum arranged around it, which offers visitors a range of experiences, including a game of outdoor chess (Fig 25).

[13] Ivan Flint is the principal architect of Flint Associates. He was originally working on the project while working for Munnik, Visser, Black and Fish Architects, (MVB&F) under the auspices of Dirk Visser, who was a well known and respected conservation architect.

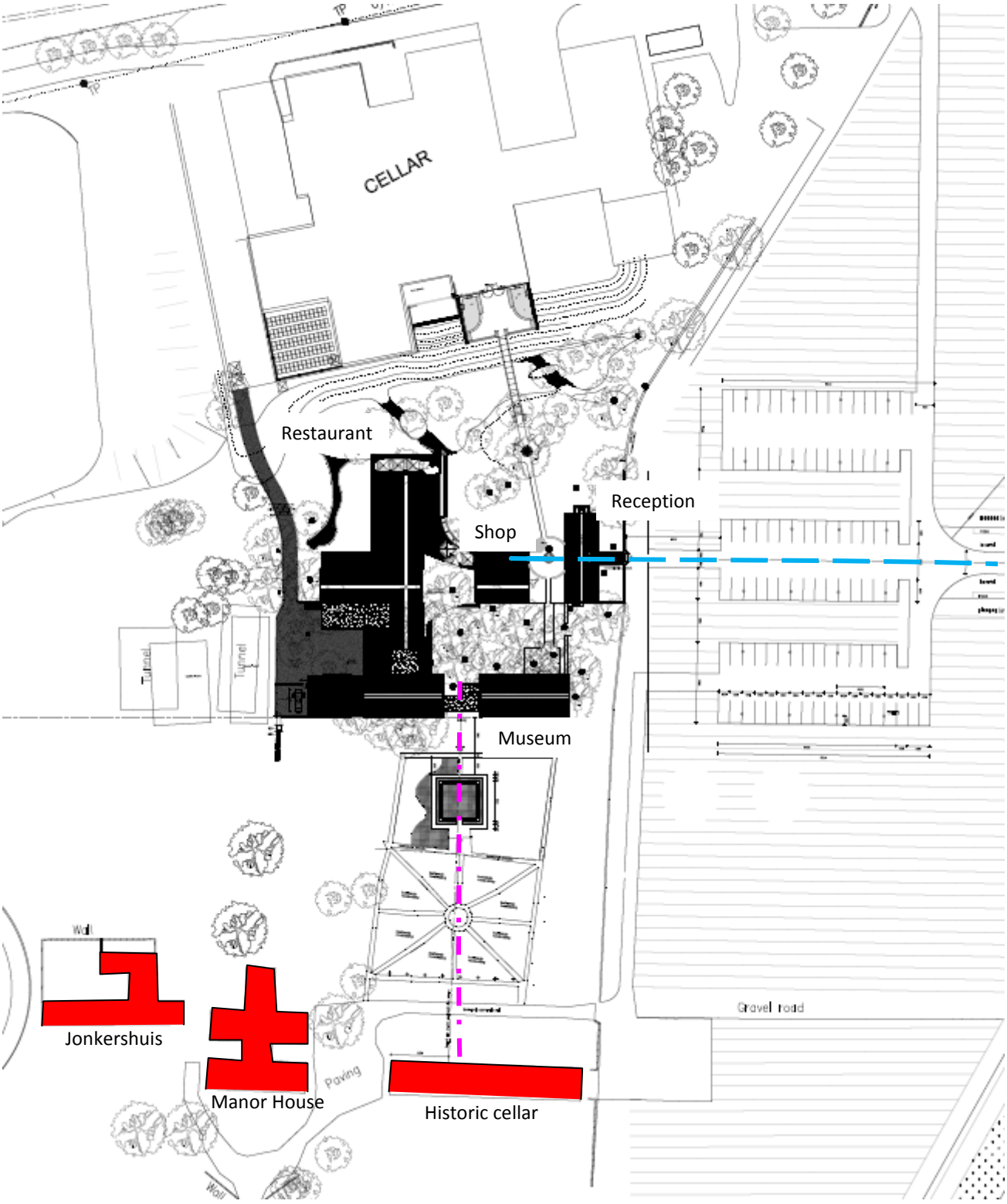

Figure 21: Lay-out of the new tourist precinct located between the historic farmstead and the winery building. The historic farmstead is shown in red. There is a 'visual link' between the two sections of the museum towards the rose garden behind the historic cellar (Malherbe Rust 2009).

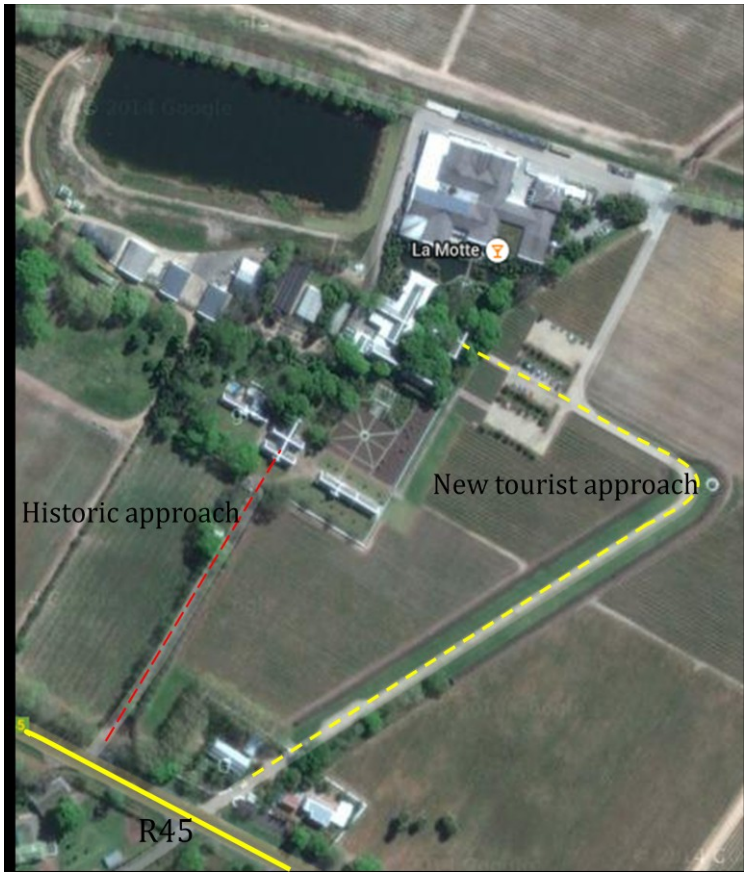

Figure 22: Map showing the approach to the historic homestead and the approach which takes tourists on a different route to the new tourist precinct, to link up with the existing winery (Google Maps).

Figure 23: New approach towards the tourist centre focusing on a contemporary sculpture (F Todeschini 2015).

Upon entering this space, a large emblem designed in the paving, promotes the branding of La Motte winery. Although the space attempts to resemble a typical farmyard it is very specifically only designed for tourists and no farming activities are experienced from within. Even the

magnificent mountain backdrop, typical to most historic farm yards in the Cape Winelands, is not visible from within the space.

The modern wine tasting cellar is reached via a suspended timber pedestrian bridge spanning a mountain stream, which feeds into a small dam. The cellar was built in 1995 and has recently been upgraded to accommodate a large number of wine tourists. The history of the farm is sandblasted on glass panels lining the columns, referring to the Huguenot owners who planted the first vines. The museum, which is part of the new complex, supposedly offers tourists a 'cultural-historical experience', with a display board that illustrates the history of La Motte and its historic buildings and gives a brief review of Cape Dutch architecture (Fig 26). The museum further includes details of the Rupert family and presents the musical career of the owner, Hanneli Rupert. The largest room in the museum is dedicated to the life and art of South African artist, Jacob Hendrik Pierneef (Fig 27), with a selection of work by other contemporary South African artists.

There is a brief opportunity to gaze at the rose garden behind the centre which separates the historic farmstead from the visitors centre. From this position the historic farmstead is only partly visible, as visitors move from one section of the museum to the larger exhibition space. This connecting space has been designed to appear as a modern glassed link between the museum and the art gallery building (Fig 28). This again creates the illusion that the 'Cape Dutch' style buildings of the centre are indeed old buildings that have been there for a long period, and have now been re-used and 'linked' with a modern glass passage. For example, John Platter, a renowned South African wine connoisseur who publishes an annual guide on wine, mistakenly reported in the 2014 edition that the buildings are 'restored' historic buildings:

> The arts and culture are given as much prominence here as the wines: the restored buildings now house, among others, a museum where many Pierneef artworks may be seen, and a restaurant which focuses on recipes brought over by early settlers, while classical music concerts are held in the historic cellar (Platter 2014:26).

La Motte's farm style shop offers a variety of baked goods, including cakes, *beskuit*[14] and bread, and the shop also offers gifts, stationery, cards, musical CDs featuring Hannelie Rupert's music and a variety of exclusive handcrafted products. The restaurant is considered very elegant and up-market by tourists, with an outdoor area suited to high teas in the garden.

[14] *Beskuit* is a traditional dried rusk usually eaten with coffee.

The creation of this new tourist centre has been successful as La Motte is an extremely popular destination and tour operators often bring tourists to experience its 'historic charm' and excellent service. One can therefore understand the comment made in Map Studio's *My Wineroute* South Africa:

> The Ruperts' La Motte Wine Estate in Franschhoek is almost unrecognisable relative to what it was like just a few years ago – such has been the metamorphosis in enchanting the visitors' experience (Froud 2013:73).

Figure 24: The entrance to the tourist precinct. The museum is to the right and the winery to the left. Note that the architecture imitates the existing historic buildings with white washed walls and green shutters, although the 'bulk'of the buildings are larger (www.la-motte.com).

Figure 25: View of the tourist precinct to accommodate the tourist's requirements. The entrance building is to the left, a shop in the centre and a restaurant to the right. The museum is situated behind the shop. The bridge leads to the wine tasting facility (www.la-motte.com).

The architects affirmed that all development processes dictated by legislation were adhered to and complied with. However, given the fact that the new complex was removed from the original historic farmstead, and none of the original buildings were tampered with, a heritage impact assessment for the proposed development was not required.

According to heritage expert Sarah Winter, the most important heritage object on the farm La Motte is its historic *werf*. Winter points out that the architects have attempted to create a new *werf* to accommodate the tourist facilities, but unfortunately the scale and siting of the new *werf* impacts the immediate setting of the historic *werf*. It may well have been better to site and orientate the new *werf* in relation to the historic *werf* to enhance public appreciation and understanding of the historic *werf*. Winter also points out that the new *werf* is inward looking with no visual connection to the surrounding historical buildings, mountain views or agricultural context. Winter thinks that the new buildings are distinguishable from the historic buildings in their detailing and the fact that they are roofed with corrugated iron rather than the thatch covering the historic buildings.

According to heritage expert Fabio Todeschini, this is an example of 'what should not be done' in terms of heritage, architecture and landscape architecture. The new access approach to the tourist setting, with sculpture as focal point, is, he argues, 'bizarre' as it has no historic place making logic and is out of place.

Although the original historic buildings have remained untouched, the new complex has been designed to emulate elements of Cape Dutch architecture. The new buildings are over-scaled in relation to the historic buildings and the proportions of the windows are wrong. Confusion is created between what is old and what is new, as the new buildings are being presented as being old. "Authenticity" has been 'tacked on', as the architects have created a *werf*-like setting, 'pandering' to the comfort and ease of the tourists. Foreign elements have been brought into the *werf*, such as sculptures, an artificial lake with streams and a wooden suspension bridge linking this space with the upgraded wine tasting facility. Todeschini sees this as creating a 'Disneyworld' effect, which he feels has nothing to do with heritage. Although, as mentioned before, the old historic buildings have been left untouched, they have been compromised by the positioning of this new complex in such close proximity to the old. Todeschini considers the rose garden that separates the two precincts as fake, and the graveyard, reserved as the future resting place of the current owners, though a reinterpretation of historic themes, as questionable. He also feels that the idea of separating the historic buildings from the tourist setting called for a complete separation where the tourist setting could rather have been done in a contemporary style. The current design compromised the existing heritage and has created a 'fake'.

Figure 26: The display board in the museum informing guests of the authentic historic buildings on the farm (PM Haring 2014).

Figure 27: The museum at La Motte displaying artwork by Pierneef (www.la-motte.co.za).

Figure 28: The glass link connecting two buildings appears as if it is new insertion between two old historic buildings (C Bilski 2013).

It is my opinion that the separation of the two precincts would have been more successful if the new tourist facility did not compete with the historic built form by imitating its architecture. The architecture of the new tourist precinct speaks of white-washed walls and green shutters. It is comprised of completely modern buildings, imitating the historic resource. This is a design approach often followed by architects, where conservation officials and heritage societies normally request that the new buildings in a historic setting would 'be sympathetic if its siting, bulk, form, scale, character, colour, texture and material are similar to the existing fabric' (Burra Charter 1999 art 22). Unfortunately this leads to many instances of stylistic reconstructions such as this, where new buildings have been designed to imitate the historic buildings and can be referred to as 'design-in-keeping'. As per Townsend, hypothetical reconstructions confuse the reading of the authentic ancient vernacular buildings (Townsend 2014: 19). This is further compounded by the juxtapositioning of obviously modern 'new' elements and the falsified reconstructed 'old' buildings, which were all constructed during the same time.

It would have been preferable if the tourist precinct was distinctly new. Since it is a completely new collection of buildings, linked to the existing new winery, and is physically removed from the historic buildings, it could have been more contemporary. This would have removed any ambiguities around the origin of the new buildings. There is always a danger that imitations could devalue the significance of the historic buildings by competing with them. According to the Burra Charter (art 22.2) any new work in a historically significant place should be readily identifiable as such, or would compromise the authenticity of the historic resource.

Instead, a separate 'simulated' tourist setting has been created away from the original historic buildings where tourists can wine and dine and have an authentic tourist experience, which still resembles the authentic historic buildings. As per Baudrillard and Eco, the originals have been substituted by the 'fakes', and are as such even preferred as La Motte remains a preferred wine farm destination. In fact, tourists are not too concerned that the setting is not authentic, since their tourists' expectations and consumer demands have been met. This is a good example of the *postmodernist viewpoint* in tourist experience, as described in the chapter on authenticities in tourism, where material authenticity is considered irrelevant to most tourists as their primary motive is entertainment, relaxation, pleasure or fun. These tourists are aware that places are inauthentic and they are satisfied with the "Disneyfied" tourism landscape.

This is then what was meant when the homepage of the farm referred to its so-called ‘historic charm’, as the buildings in the tourist setting are not truly historical, but charm you into a make-believe world of fantastical history.

The separation and subsequent ‘protection’ of the historic precinct from everyday tourists could, I argue, be considered a good approach from a preservation and conservation perspective. The historic buildings are still well conserved and their value and significance have been maintained even though they have been compromised by the new centre which is too closely situated while at the same time, resembling it. The construction of the over-scaled simulated tourist space scattered with foreign elements, is however considered inappropriate. Townsend describes the new development as being ‘unsuccessful and probably permanently damaging’ to its significance (Townsend 2014: 19). It would be most problematic, if not confusing, if every traditional wine farm simply ‘duplicated’ the farmstead with an imitation farm precinct to accommodate tourists.

Babylonstoren, Simondium: A story of con-fusion. A blend of the old with the new.

Figure 29: Web clip for Babylonstoren (www.babylonstoren.com).

Babylonstoren's website (Fig. 29) describes the farm as a Cape Dutch farmstead located in the picturesque Cape Winelands cultural landscape. It further claims a long history and recognizes the historical significance of the farm yard. The (new) garden is then mentioned, together with the fact that there is an excellent restaurant. The next two lines promise prospective tourists an exclusive experience on the farm. A plethora of further options are suggested on the web page. Maps of the farm layout, delicious menus and a gallery of pictures promise an unforgettable experience on the farm, involving all five senses. It is clear that the farm markets itself as a destination that would provide an 'authentic' tourist experience.

Babylonstoren is located in the Drakenstein Valley, between Klapmuts and Simondium, in the Cape Winelands (Fig. 30). It is located on the northern slopes of the Simonsberg and forms part of the Paarl/ Simonsberg Wine Route.

Brief history of the farm:

According to De Bosdari:

> *Babylons Toren* takes its name from the conical kopje close to the house, a landmark which appears on the early maps: the ground was granted in 1692 to Pieter van der Byl, one of the four men who were deported to Holland by W. A. van der Stel and there secured his downfall and dismissal (De Bosdari 1964: 86).

The history of Babylonstoren, as it is still known today, therefore started with a land grant to free burgher[15] Pieter van der Bijl in 1692, on which to farm. According to Stuart Harris:

> Farming activities were limited mainly to the sowing of a few muids of wheat and fodder crops, the laying out of vegetable gardens and the planting of a few hundred vines on each farming unit. On their farms they kept a small number of cattle which could be used as draught animals for their wagons and carts, a few horses for riding, and some pigs (Harris 2007:15).

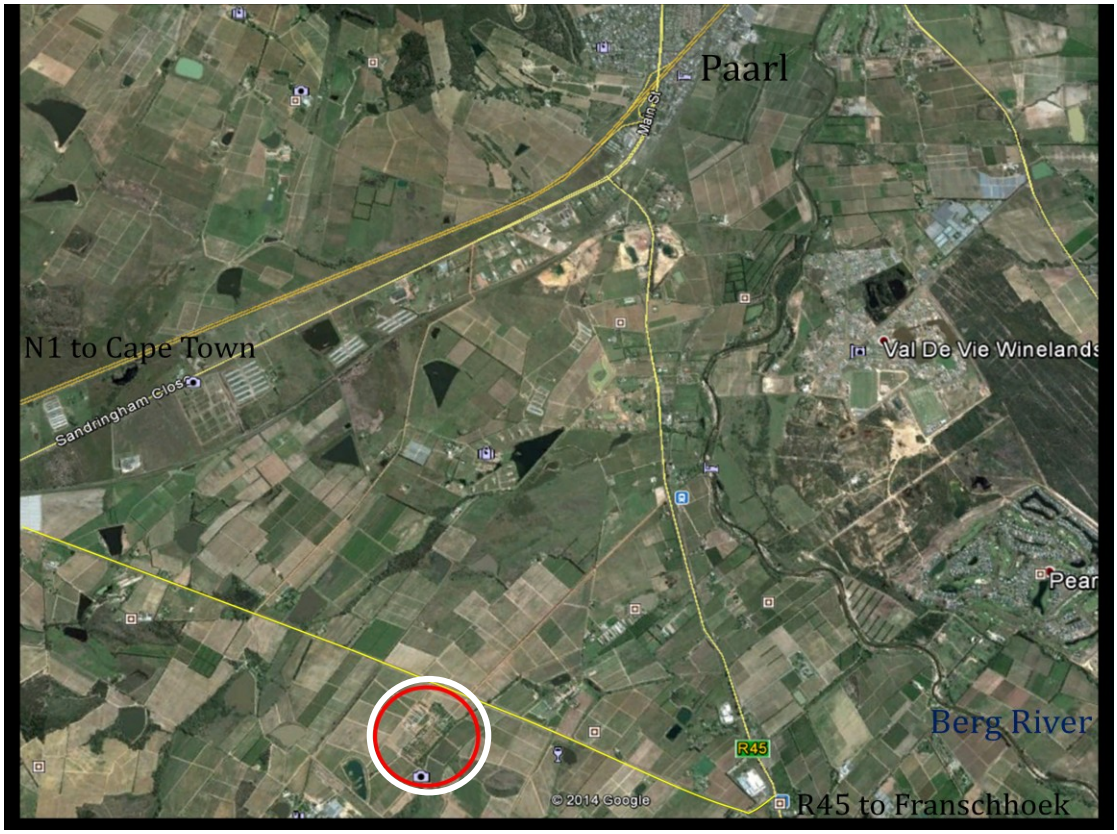

Figure 30: The location of Babylonstoren. GPS Coordinates S 33˚49'26 58" E 18˚55'38 87" (Google Earth 2014)

The farm was granted to Pieter van der Bijl in two parts: 33 morgen in 1692 and an additional 28 morgen in 1698. When Van der Bijl's widow died in 1744, the farm was transferred to Johannes Louw. On his death in 1762, it was transferred to Petrus Johannes de Villiers (Fransen 2004: 276).

Over the years, the farms changed ownership and the size of the farm became bigger or smaller as pieces of land were sold off or added to the farm. Adriaan Louw acquired the farm in 1873 and was responsible for removing the typical Cape Dutch gables on the homestead. In 1931, the farm was registered as the property of Dirk Van Velden Louw and during his ownership the gables were

[15] A 'free burgher' was a Dutch East India Company official who was granted land to farm independently and produce crops to sell back to the company at controlled prices.

restored. In 2007, the current owners, media magnate Koos Bekker and his wife Karen Roos, purchased the farm.

Explanation of historic built-form:

When the farm was bought by the current owners, the well-preserved *werf* referred to on the website consisted of the homestead, the chicken coop, a stable, a wine cellar, a barn, a slave bell and a *werf* enclosure with gates at three entry points (Fig. 31). In 1965, Fransen and Cook embarked on their extensive survey of Cape Buildings, and described the farmstead in the updated book in 2004 as following:

> The most interesting feature of Babylonstoren (which probably derives its name from a small koppie nearby, a rather tongue-in-cheek derivation!) is its complex of outbuildings. Two of them form a symmetrical forecourt, with a slightly splayed plan so as to form a false perspective, but the buildings adjoining the homestead to the right appear to be older, perhaps contemporary with the homestead. On one of the forecourt buildings there is a tall pedimented gable dated 1805? (the fourth numeral is difficult to read); like all the other outbuildings it has an iron roof, but the pitch of this roof is so low that the gable gives the impression of standing virtually unsupported.

And further:

> Of the two outbuildings alongside the house, the one nearest to it stands end-on, with a fine plaster architrave round its door with two holbol end-gables; the other has a simple holbol front-gable. There is a second, more monumental entrance gate on the west of the werf. At the opposite end stands the bell-tower, rather squat in design and set in the werf wall; it leans slightly backward. (Fransen 2004: 276)

According to Gwen Fagan, the old stable and the chicken coop building were the oldest buildings on the farm. Together with the house that dated from 1777, they formed the original *werf*. A later owner, Petrus De Villiers, allegedly wanted to create a formal fore-court to his farm and added two elongated buildings at a splayed angle, to add an increased sense of perspective towards the homestead (Fagan 1994:467). The original linear movement patterns changed with the addition of these buildings as a new perpendicular axis was introduced. According to Harris, 'unlike the first *werf* which 'just growed' [sic], the second *werf* was a deliberate and artistic creation' (Harris 2007:50). Harris, however, attributes the addition of the splayed outbuildings that create the new *werf* to Cornelis Ponty who married De Villiers' widow in 1878. The outbuildings are dated 1805, at which time he was regarded as the owner of the farm (Harris 2007: 49).

The H-shaped homestead as it stands today was built by Petrus Johannes de Villiers in 1777, probably incorporating the carcass of an older original house. Unfortunately, like so many other

Cape houses, the Babylonstoren homestead was also changed in the name of fashion in the late nineteenth century. It was Victorianized as it was stripped of its gables and other external features and the thatched roof was replaced with corrugated iron (Brooke Simons 2000:179). In 1922 Dorothea Fairbridge wrote the following about Babylonstoren:

> Babylonsche Toren, now the property of Mr. Louw, must have been a very beautiful house before its gables were shorn off to accommodate an iron roof. Within are all the usual points of a fine Cape house, polished wood floors and ceilings and two very graceful cupboards built into the wall of the dining room. Near them hangs the old grant, signed by Simon van der Stel. The outbuildings are on an ample scale, and fortunately retain their gables. The old slave-bell, too, still hangs in the bell-tower, and peals out across the vineyards and the veld – it is inscribed 'Soli Dei Gloria'. A curved wall cuts off the homestead from the open country, and through the white-pillared gateway we saw the distant Drakenstein mountains turn flame colour and carmine beneath the setting sun (Fairbridge 1922:139).

By the time Ms Fairbridge saw the homestead, the house no longer resembled the original house built by De Villiers. Fortunately though, the inside of the house remained intact. So did the outbuildings.

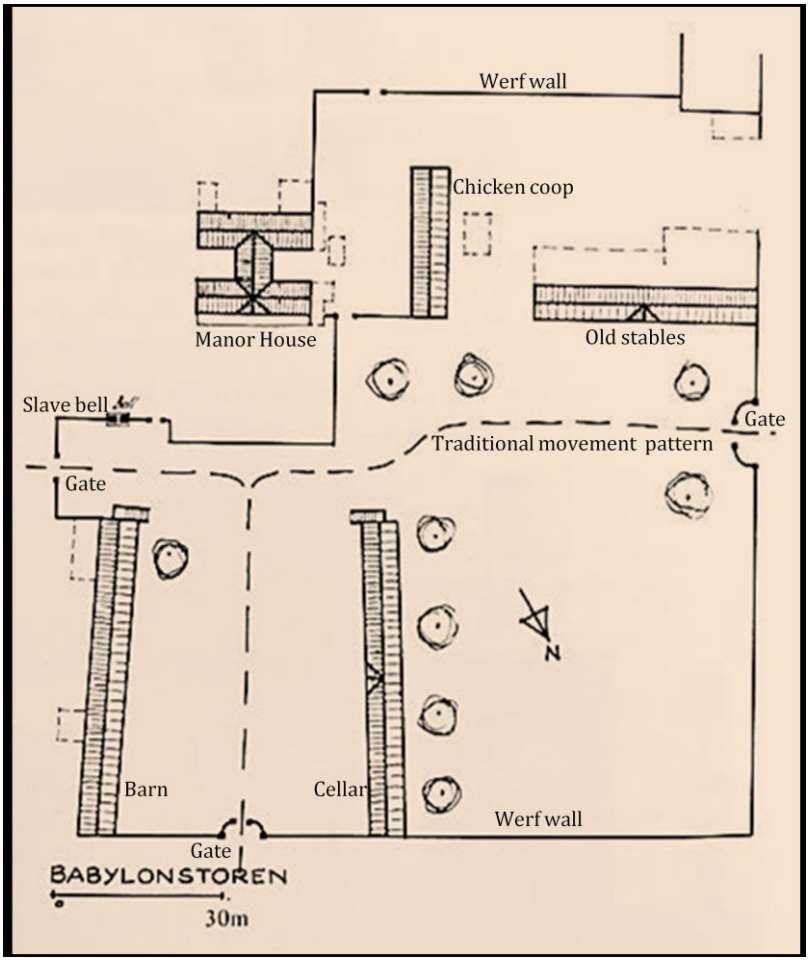

Figure 31: Babylonstoren: Layout of historic built-form (Fransen 2004: 276). Annotations supplied.

The house was however stylistically restored by architect Wynand Louw in 1931 to its original H-shaped Cape Dutch form, with Mrs Susan Louw being the main inspiration behind the restoration (Harris 2007: 93). Since no sketch or photograph could be found of the original house, the present front gable was not based on the older one (Fransen 2004: 276).

Conservation work that has been completed:

As just mentioned, Dorothea Fairbridge referred to the fact the original homestead was altered and no longer had its original thatch cover. By 1931 it was stylistically restored by Wynand Louw to resemble a Cape Dutch homestead and a new front gable was added. This meant that the homestead, although preserved on the inside, no longer resembled the house that was built by Petrus de Villiers in 1777, although the same date was put on it.

In 2007, the current owners, media magnate Koos Bekker and his wife Karen Roos, bought the farm. They immediately embarked on a programme to expand the vineyards, build a new winery, add guest accommodation and promote agri-tourism, which would include a farm shop, wine tasting, a bistro, public facilities and a new garden.

Although the main focus of the re-development was not the conservation of the farm as a historic project, Thorold Architects were employed in 2007 to restore the original homestead and historic outbuildings. Thorold Architects are a well-established architectural firm specialising in heritage conservation work in and around Cape Town. They have been involved in restoring Waterhof and St Ronan's properties in Oranjezicht for the same clients, where the restoration work 'displays and honours each of the numerous layerings of history preserved in the fabric' (Bester 2014: 118). In this case the homestead was carefully restored to its 1931 reconstruction of a Cape Dutch house while making it more contemporary and comfortable for the owners inside (Fig. 32).

In 2008 Andre Pentz, architect and heritage consultant, was instructed to do a survey of the farm prior to its further development, as part of a Heritage Impact Assessment, during which all the structures on the farm were documented and evaluated. The buildings within the historic *werf* were graded as having considerable significance and the entire *werf* itself as having exceptional significance (Pentz 2009:19).

A record was also made of all the existing trees forming avenues, strengthening axes or forming clumps. A neglected fruit orchard and other trees behind the homestead were removed. All this information was assimilated and heritage indicators were determined. The heritage indicators and the brief set by the clients were used to develop a concept design based on design principles and guidelines adopted by the designers, a group which included architects and an international landscape architect. The area behind the house was designated as a 'historic garden' and was to be conserved as a fruit orchard, although the existing orchard was much neglected and subsequently removed.

Due to the nature of the development, in terms of scale and heritage concerns, the approval process was long and drawn out. Different approvals had to be granted from different institutions for the introduction of new buildings, for the use and re-use of existing buildings, for proposed changes to the historic buildings, and general rezoning required for the farm as new activities were introduced into the previously only agricultural zone.

Figure 32: The homestead at Babylonstoren as restored by Thorold Architects, showing lawned werf (www.yatser.com Photo ©Babylonstoren).

Current built-form and use of the farm as a tourist destination:

As mentioned earlier, development of the farm to accommodate agri-tourism was prioritised, rather than its conservation. Conservation of the historic buildings was seen as part of the project, but the focus was on the development of the farm for the enjoyment of tourists. So, subsequent to the conservation work done by Thorold, Malherbe Rust were employed in 2008 to complete the remainder of the project, which included the general re-organisation of the farm's layout and circulation, the introduction of a new historical garden, the design of a new winery, the upgrading of the workers' cottages to provide guest accommodation, a farm shop, a wine tasting facility, a bistro and public amenities.

Based on these proposals, the farm was formally re-structured and organised around a newly established axis and the lengthening of one of the existing axis (Figs. 33 & 34). The new historical garden became the focal point of the design, although this was not indicated on the original proposal submitted for approval to the relevant authorities, including heritage officials. It was only later with the final implementation of the development, that the prominence of the garden became obvious. The new winery buildings were placed away from the original historic complex on this new axial layout, aligned with the little hill located to the side of the farm. It could be seen as an acknowledgement of the placement of the splayed outbuildings on the axis of the second *werf*. Being larger in scale, the winery buildings were partly sunk into the ground to reduce their over-all height. Elements of Cape Dutch architecture, such as the gables, were copied to make them match the existing farm buildings (Fig 35). The old stable building was converted into a shop, deli and wine tasting facility. Public amenities were built as simple structures to fit in with the typical farm buildings. An old cow shed was converted into a restaurant. The row of existing labourers' cottages was to be upgraded and enlarged, to provide accommodation for overnight guests (Fig. 36). A new glass conservatory was purchased in France and shipped to the Western Cape and placed in the historical garden, to serve as an additional eating facility (Fig. 37).

According to the tour operators interviewed for this study, the main attraction of the farm is its magnificent new garden and outstanding restaurant. The wine is not well known yet and therefore not particularly sought after. The new geometric garden, cow shed restaurant, glass conservatory and boutique hotel has taken the place of the historic *werf* and its historic buildings in terms of importance.

Figure 33: Image showing current layout of farm with substantial garden and strong new axial organization. The dotted red lines added by the author clearly show the axes (http://www.babylonstoren.com/).

Figure 34: Map of the farm distributed to tourists at the entrance gate, clearly showing the prominence of the new historic garden and the geometrical layout (http://www.babylonstoren.com).

Figure 35: Photo of new farm building, showing the use of stylistic elements of Cape Dutch buildings. The architects attempted to distinguish the new from the old by using varnish on the timber work in lieu of traditional green paint (J de Waal 2012).

Figure 36: View of labourers'cottages, showing new over-scaled fireplace elements (F Todeschini 2015).

Figure 37: Photo showing glass conservatory placed at the back of the garden. The structure is used for growing vegetables and serves as an outdoor restaurant (PM Haring 2014).

Figure 38: View of the garden behind the house with the Simonsberg in the background. A system of leiwater[16] dams and channels have been built to irrigate the garden (www.babylonstoren.com).

[16] *Leiwater* is the Afrikaans word for a water furrow, forming part of a typical water management infrastructure.

Upon arrival, visitors to the farm are welcomed by a guard controlling the access entry point. They then proceed on the approach road, aligned with the main axis to the *werf,* leading up to the homestead. However, before entering the historic gate as would be the typical route, the road makes a sharp bend to the right, steering the gaze away from the farmstead, through the vineyards. After having had a glimpse of the well-preserved *werf,* tourists are routed completely around the complex, between the new winery buildings, on another new axis route, this time focused on the little hill from which the name of the farm originates. This secondary axial approach is then also abruptly interrupted by curved shaped vineyards which forces the gaze around another sharp bend to the left (or to the right), to arrive in a large parking zone. Apart from some discreet signage boards, and despite the strongly designed axis, there is no clear indication of where to go, as the two major axial approaches both become obscured and are not legible. This new planning and rearrangement has negated the original farm approach to the farmstead, and while trying to impose a clear new order, has just complicated the clarity of the original farm approach.

This super-imposed contrived axial layout of the farm is not typical of historic farmsteads that have traditionally developed more organically, although it can be seen as yet another 'deliberate and artistic creation' similar to the creation of the second *werf* done by Ponty in 1805. The brochure given to tourists at the entrance to the farm becomes a very necessary tool to guide them through the new farm layout. Although the layout appears ordered and clear, it is actually not legible at all. Once the path to the historical garden is found, the tourist can cast his gaze on a wonderful systematically ordered expanse of growing fruit and vegetables. Farm workers can be seen at their daily tasks, planting and pruning and picking. This is an example of 'staged authenticity', where MacCannell describes the 'framing' of farming activities for the benefits of tourists (Fig 38).

The so-called *historiese tuin*[17]*,* as the new garden is referred to, has become the dominant feature of the farm and is considered an absolute delight and a memorable tourist experience. It is fascinating and formal and a far cry from the true original orchard that would have been planted by the farmer. The garden is a magical mathematical mat, a geometry to behold (Fig 34). Tourists are informed that the garden is based on Jan van Riebeeck's original garden layout.

There are two restaurant options where tourists can eat. One option is to eat outdoors or bask in the sunlight filtering through the glass conservatory that was bought and flown in from France (Fig.

[17] *Historiese tuin* is the Afrikaans word for Historic garden.

37). The second option is to dine elegantly in the renovated cow shed. Tourists are delighted when the same fruit and vegetables seen in the garden are later displayed freshly prepared on their plates. After literally feasting the garden, tourists can wander through part of the well-preserved *werf* (which is no longer the focal point of the farm), taste wine and shop at the farm shop and deli. The deli sells fresh bread, cheese and pastrami brought from Italy. The deli itself is an ultra modern insertion in the historic outbuildings, complete with glassed door cooling rooms. The ambiance created is that of a French *charcuterie*.[18] The farm shop sells goods made on the farm, such as preserves and cordials, bread and bread boards, recipe books, straw hats and aprons.

Unfortunately the larger part of the well-preserved *werf* referred to in the promotion of the farm is closed off to the public and can only be gazed upon from a distance, as it is also beautifully grassed and well maintained, quite different from any real farm *werf*. The main historic buildings, including the homestead, splayed barns and chicken coop, are only appreciated for the general historical ambiance it sets.

Tourists can stay overnight in the exclusive boutique hotel, and be accommodated in supposedly 'revamped' workers' cottages off an avenue of historic oak trees. These cottages appear old and quaint while they are actually very stylishly decorated inside. Add-on glass boxes serving as kitchens give the false appearance of later contemporary additions to the 'old' (Fig. 39). While wandering along the avenue of oaks, tourists can imagine a scene of workers returning home from the fields, children playing under the trees and women busying themselves with daily domestic chores while possibly being unaware of the hardships that farm workers really faced a few decades earlier. The present ambiance created is rather that of elegance and sophistication.

Tourists are unaware of all the latest interventions and reconstructions overlaid on the historic farm. Fact and fiction has mingled into a new fantasy world where tourists can reminisce about a fictitious past of glory, comfort and elegance. Everything has been sanitised. This is a good example of place branding, where tourists are deceived about what the passing of time has done to the farm. Hahn describes it as particular aspects of the product being emphasised and presented positively, supported by attractive stories, appealing emotions, and inviting motivations for consumption. This process inevitably leaves out certain parts of the place's history and cultural complexity, while inventing others to fit the presumed image of the authentic place (Hahn 2012:1).

[18] A Charcuterie is a delicatessen specializing in dressed meat and meat products.

Figure 39: Photograph showing glass-box add-on kitchen to so-called 'upgraded' workers cottage (E Joubert 2012).

This project has recently won an Award of Excellence from the South African Institute of Architects. It has been highly commended for 'taking great care to reinforce and enhance the existing, while adding new elements along similar principles'. According to the jury, 'everything was done to restore a line of continuous development that is in sympathy with the original buildings, while still remaining true to the sensibilities of the time'. As a final commendation it was said that: 'The other aspect that is truly impressive is Babylonstoren's quality of authenticity as a no-nonsense working farm' (SAIA 2014:12-13).

Winter's opinion is that the historic *werf* is the most important heritage object and she thought that 'the gardens are awesome and have fulfilled the brief to create something magical (and unauthentic [sic])'.

She also argued that the garden exists in strong contrast to the 'historically correct' landscaping treatment of the primary *werf* enclosure, being a simple, lawned, tree-lined space. She does however feel that a greater distinction could have been made between the old and the new garden if the primary *werf* was given 'more breathing space' and if the new garden was not interpreted as being an extension of the *werf*.

Winter further contends that the primary *werf* is largely intact due to the use of the house as a private residence and the fact that commercial activities are largely located on the periphery of the *werf*. She also suggests that the adaptive reuse of the historical *werf* for tourism purposes has contributed to its conservation.

It is further her opinion that there is to a large extent distinction between the authentic heritage buildings and the new tourist facility. New insertions within the historic *werf* are legible in terms of use, such as the flat roofed architecture used for new service buildings, versus the thatched appearance of the historic *werf* buildings.

Winter does however feel that the authenticity of the guest cottages and the service building next to the green house is uncertain. She also notes that the age of the wine cellar buildings could be confused by the use of Cape Dutch stylistic elements, such as front gables.

She furthermore feels that the wine cellar is over-scaled in relation to the historic *werf* and that they have a negative visual impact especially in terms of accessing the *werf* from that end. It would have been better to reposition and redesign the wine cellar buildings and to consider the access to the *werf* to mitigate their impact on the sense of arrival.

According to Fabio Todeschini, the changes that have been made to the farm to accommodate tourists are very different from that made at La Motte. He feels that the way the original historic fabric is dealt with is 'quite decent'. The old complex has not been tampered with and the original fabric has been retained. Although the main historic farmstead complex is also off limits to tourists, they are more aware of it as they are given the opportunity to move through part of the original *werf* and experience the old barn. He is concerned with the detailing of some elements such as the new gumpole fence demarcating the animal enclosure as this is not authentic and could have been done differently. He does, however, confirm that little damage has been done in the overall recycling of the heritage site.

Todeschini further points out that the main access to the farm is still on the original alignment, although tourists are forcibly taken on a different route as a functional necessity. No foreign elements have been introduced to the access approach, such as the sculpture at La Motte. Todeschini agrees that the new big garden is not historic, but argues that it is based on a historic diagram of its period, being in the baroque style. He feels that it can be viewed as a more 'general

historic idea' and that it has left the basic historic complex intact, although the heart of the farm has actually been moved to the garden, as this is the place enjoyed most by tourists. Todeschini does have a problem with the conversion of the labourers' cottage into a boutique hotel as he feels that the re-cycling was done in a 'ham-fisted way' and that the additions are out of scale.

The addition of the glass conservatory in the garden is not considered an issue at it is clearly seen as a new element placed within the garden, totally removable and separated from the historic complex. Todeschini concludes that the overall recycling of the heritage site does not affect its value and significance.

It is my opinion that the new axial arrangement, super-imposed on the farm to create an ordering device, has been unnecessary. Unlike the creation of the symmetrical second *werf* with a clear new entrance approach as done by Ponty in 1805, the latest design has not been successful as it has not contributed any clarity. It has attempted to place more focus on the little hill and suggests that the new garden is the most important space. By doing so it has compromised the significance of the 'well-preserved *werf',* the very thing that is highly regarded on the farm's website.

The success of the garden as a geometric entity could still have been achieved as an extension towards the back of the homestead, where the old orchard was located. The new approach to the farm has become forced as a result of the newly imposed axis, yet still remains unclear. The idea of giving the tourists a glimpse of the traditional approach is however considered commendable, as opposed to La Motte where visitors are taken on a completely different route and are not even made aware of the original approach.

What I find most problematic at Babylonstoren is the confusion between what is truly old and what is clearly new, despite the SAIA's commendations. Tourists are unaware that the new winery and cottages are in fact more recent additions to the farmstead. They are architecturally not clearly distinctive from the existing historic buildings. During the early stages of the development, concern was already raised about the scale of the new development in relation to the existing farm and surrounding cultural landscape and that the proposed architecture was considered 'inappropriately imitative' by the Heritage Western Cape Built Environment and Landscape Committee (BELCOM), as corresponded by HWC official Shiceka to Pentz.

The architects did attempt to distinguish the new and the historic by employing subtle variations such as new simple hardware versus old elaborate hardware and varnished versus painted shutters. These subtle elements are completely missed even by informed visitors who easily mistake the stylistically copied new wine cellars for being authentic historic buildings. They are further unaware that the original labourers' cottages were in fact badly constructed and had to be completely re-built as a result. The add-on glass-box-kitchens that were tacked onto the deemed-to-be 'old' cottages were thus constructed at the same time as the 'old' cottages. Here is another example where a false sense of 'the old' juxtaposed to 'the new' is created.

Magnificent though the fruit and vegetable garden may be, it is certainly not a 'historic' garden as it is continually referred to. Although it has a historic reference point, it creates a false impression with tourists about its origin. Even though the formal plan may be considered typical of gardens during that time, the use of gumpole structures to create plant supports and shading devices is a completely new invention.

Ultimately, the existing 'well preserved *werf*', together with all its historically significant buildings, has been well conserved although its value and significance have been compromised in terms of its prominence and legibility. According to Townsend, the planning and rearrangement of Babylonstoren, as with La Motte, is seen as unsuccessful and probably permanently damaging to its significance (Townsend 2014: 19). Babylonstoren can no longer be viewed as a historical farmstead. A new layer of activity, that of agri-tourism (including wine tourism), has been added to the farm, and although the use of the farm is complementary to its former use, new relationships affecting the overall authenticity and significance of the place have been formed.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that Babylonstoren was specifically commended by the SAIA for its 'quality of authenticity' as a farm. This commendation could rather apply to its sense of authenticity as a tourist destination, where the past and the present have fused to create a totally new tourist environment, as a result of place branding, to fit the 'presumed image' of the authentic place (Hahn 2012:1).

Chapter 5: The Authenticities: Conservation vs Tourism

According to Pearce, in his chapter "Authenticity Matters: Meanings and Further Studies in Tourism", the nuances inherent in the notion of authenticity offer a 'bridge of dialogue' between different users (Pearce 2012:268). As discussed earlier, the concept of authenticity in conservation is used when determining significance of a heritage resource together with other values attributed to it. In tourism, the concept has been used extensively in sociological discourse and has developed new meanings as tourism has grown into a global industry over the last 30 years. It is therefore the purpose of this study to compare the notions of authenticity as used by these two different disciplines and to see how and if they ultimately relate to each other. For this reason, I have looked at the different manifestations of the notion of authenticity as demonstrated upon visiting the three cases discussed.

As argued in the Introduction, tour operators, who are seen as active producers of the tourist experience and who best recognize demands associated with tourists, were interviewed. From the information gathered during the interviews, the following findings became apparent:

- Cape Point, Table Mountain and the Cape Winelands are the main attractions in the Western Cape;
- the Cape Winelands is a popular destination because of wine tourism and the beautiful scenery;
- wine farms producing good wine are chosen, a round trip is designed to show of the spectacular scenery and a lunch stop is made at a top class restaurant; and
- even though tourists appreciate the long history of wine making and they admire the historic Cape Dutch buildings, the authenticity of the historic buildings is not the most important part of the experience.

The further set of questions which were asked during the interviews and analyses of the three cases are now answered:

The first question looks to determine whether tourists are concerned with authenticity of the toured object, in this case the authenticity of the historic precinct on the wine farms, the original farmstead, the outbuildings and the *werf*.

Tour operators confirm that tourists are fascinated by the history of wine-making in the Cape and that the Cape Dutch farm buildings bear testimony to that heritage. However, whether the buildings have been restored or reconstructed at some moment in time or not, as best the operators can see, makes no difference to the tourists. The ambiance created by the presence of some apparently historic buildings is sufficient to enhance the tourist experience.

At Schoongezicht, home of Rustenburg Wines, the authenticity of the farm is truly evident in the setting, the approach to the farm and the historic buildings. Although the wine tasting facility and other newer buildings on the farm are later additions, they do not compete with the historic built-form. The tourists are experiencing object-related authenticity and the authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the toured site as being authentic (Wang 1999:351).

At La Motte, tourists have minimal access to the authentic historic buildings. Apart from the display board in the museum or a glimpse of the historic buildings from within the art gallery, tourists are not encouraged to experience the historic precinct unless on a weekly guided tour. They are entertained at the tourist centre which is an imitation of a historic farm precinct. Sarah Winter even refers to it as the "new *werf"*. This new *werf* consists of a group of Cape Dutch-looking buildings forming a beautiful treed inward-looking courtyard space where all the needs of the tourists are met and the tourists take great pleasure in being there. The wine tasting experience is elegant and the restaurant is exceptional. The museum is interesting and informative, although not always visited, as the wine tasting and restaurant take priority. The tourists are experiencing existential authenticity because the tourist setting is indeed a hyper-real, Disneyfied substitute for the original historic setting, where the new buildings have become more 'real' and are preferred to the originals, as per Eco ([1973]1990: 19) and Baudrillard (1988:41). Tourists are mainly interested in having a 'good time' while the authenticity of the place is not questioned (Wang 1999:353).

At Babylonstoren the back-drop of historic farm buildings is sufficient to enhance the tourist experience. The new geometric fruit and vegetable garden, albeit a supposed reconstruction of Jan van Riebeeck's fresh produce garden, is not authentic. It has been created as something 'different' as per Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:152), to attract tourists to the farm, specifically since they are not well-known for their wines. In addition, the tourists are experiencing 'staged' authenticity as per MacCannell's theory, where the historic farm and all the farm-activities have been set up or 'framed' for tourists' entertainment, and as such is not considered authentic anymore (MacCannell

1973:597). The popularity of the farm as a tourist destination suggests that tourists are no longer concerned with the authenticity of the toured object.

We can conclude then with some confidence that wine tourists in the Western Cape are not always concerned with the authenticity of the heritage precinct, as suggested by Boorstin, Wang, Urry and Herbert.

The second question asks whether tourists are made aware of the new additions or insertions within a heritage precinct and whether there is always clear distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic objects.

At Schoongezicht, home of Rustenburg Wines, tourists experience the historic buildings on the farm as authentic. The newer buildings that have become part of the precinct do not compete with the old historic buildings as the historic buildings still remain the most prominent feature on the historic precinct.

At La Motte, the precinct created for tourists is completely new. However, the architecture speaks of the old, with gables, whitewashed walls and green shutters and doors. The new buildings are stylistic reconstructions of the historic buildings and are imitations thereof. Untrained tourists seem to imagine this to be part of the original historic farm precinct. In fact, the use of modern glass doors and the glass link between two of the buildings in the complex actually deliberately confuse the tourists into believing that the complex could be historical. I have overheard a foreign tourist complimenting the space as if he thought it was comprised of original historic buildings. As mentioned earlier, even John Platter, the well-known wine critic and writer, made this mistake in his guide book, describing La Motte's tourist destination as being 'restored buildings'. However, a visit to the museum allows the visitor to discover the true history of the farm and will hopefully clear up any ambiguities as a tour can be arranged to view the truly historic buildings.

At Babylonstoren where the objective was not to restore and conserve the historic farm, there is no clear distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic objects. An imaginary world is created where old and new, and new and old, are juxtaposed on a new artificially overlaid order. Tourists are not always able to recognise new additions and insertions within historic fabric. The subtle variations in shutter finishes and hardware to distinguish between the old and new

employed by the architects are missed. There is intent to make tourists aware of new additions/insertions, but it could have been made more explicit. There is also an attempt to contrast the new with the old, as with the workers' cottages where new glass-box-kitchens were added but where the cottages and kitchens were actually all re-built/built at the same time, so the glass boxes also become gimmicks which confuse even the best informed tourists. There also seem to be 'designed' insertions as at La Motte, where 'new' elements are contrasted with 'old' elements where in fact they were all designed and built at the same time. This should be a concern for conservationists as this device deliberately deceives.

We can conclude then, arguing that tourists appear not to notice or not to care to notice subtle or even obvious differences between the authentic historic buildings and later additions.

The third question asks whether tourists are satisfied with 'staged' or fabricated precincts where they have been totally removed from the authentic objects into a contrived tourist setting.

At Schoongezicht, home of Rustenburg Wines, tourists are charmed by the authenticity of the historic setting. They are aware that the wine tasting facility itself is a contemporary insertion within an older building, the original stable, dated 1945. However, this is most definitely not a 'staged' precinct.

At La Motte tourists have an authentic good tourist experience, tasting wine and dining in an elegant setting where history is projected onto the new setting by the pseudo-historical buildings. The fact that La Motte has won prestigious awards as the number one wine farm destination, confirms that the 'simulated' precinct is fully acceptable to tourists as their expectations are satisfied.

At Babylonstoren tourists are completely satisfied with the 'staged' farm setting as presented to them. They have an authentic activity-related tourist experience while exploring the fascinating garden or enjoying a scrumptious meal at one of the two dining options. They are not aware of the major organisational changes that have occurred on the farm to develop the space for agri-tourist related activities.

In conclusion, tourists essentially seem to be satisfied with staged or even simulated settings, where they can have an authentically good tourist experience. This is consistent with the ideas of Baudillard, Eco and MacCannell.

The fourth question asks if the authentic heritage precincts are at risk of losing their integrity as a result of the owners' wishes to live up to the tourists' expectations and motivations.

At Schoongezicht, home of Rustenburg Wines, the historic precinct has maintained its integrity and the wine tasting facility and access to it have been accommodated without disturbing the original *werf* pattern. Tourists experience the pleasure of following a long winding path in a scenic valley and suddenly gaze upon an idyllic scene where the historic homestead and cellar presents itself beyond a green meadow. The tourists are then taken along the side of the farm outbuildings to the wine tasting facility, only to be reintroduced to the historic precinct when entering the magnificent enclosed space behind the historic buildings from the wine tasting room. The historic precinct has remained intact and has not lost its significance.

At La Motte a completely new approach way has been introduced to purposefully steer visitors away from the historic precinct to the new tourist facility. In fact, the tourist gaze is totally unaware of the traditional approach through an avenue of oaks leading to the original farmstead with historic buildings. The new precinct is over-scaled and situated too closely to the historic precinct. Where the back-drop to the historic buildings was vineyards and mountains, they are now viewed against a back drop of over-sized imitation Cape Dutch buildings. The historic *werf* with historic buildings has now acquired a museum-like quality, even though it is still in use. The integrity of the historic built form has not been lost, but it certainly has been compromised.

At Babylonstoren the newly imposed overlay of order and organisation blurs the clarity of the traditional *werf* pattern and access. The traditional approach has been obscured, although visitors have a glimpse of it at the entrance approach as they are directed on a circuitous route around the farm, ending in a large parking area. Then, once found again, the "well preserved *werf*" is mainly intact, albeit with limited access to tourists as private areas have been demarcated. The new structured garden has become the new focus and heart of the farm. Here, again, the value and significance of the original historic farmstead has been maintained, yet compromised as the traditional patterns have become obscured by this new layer of tourist activities.

There is therefore a definite risk that the integrity of heritage precincts can be compromised as a result of owners' wishes to satisfy tourist motivations and expectations.

The fifth question asks if sufficient heritage management is in place to control conservation of the built environment while the demands of tourism are rapidly increasing.

Although this study has not given detailed account of the law and its administration, it appears that there is sufficient management in place where local municipal authorities, together with the provincial heritage resources agencies, attempt to control development by following procedures set by legislation, to control the conservation of historic places in the face of tourism. Despite the criticism and skepticism, the truly authentic historic buildings have been restored and conserved. The *werf* precincts are still intact, although the approaches and traditional patterns have been obscured. The basic motivations for restoring and conserving the historic built-form are still correct, even if in two of the three cases explored there has been a failure to recognize the effects of the interventions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

It has been argued here that the notions of authenticity in tourism and in the tourism experience are very broad and different from that of authenticity in the conservation of the built environment and the study has supported the argument that the focus of tourism is no longer on the authenticity of the historic built-form, but rather on the authenticity associated with the tourist experience. The tourist's quest for authenticity no longer requires the authenticity of the visited historic site, but rather that they may enjoy an authentic tourist experience, be it activity-related or existential authenticity (Wang 1999:360).

The cases explored, the historic wine farms being Schoongezicht, La Motte and Babylonstoren, demonstrate that wine tourism in the Cape Winelands has become a competitive industry where wine farms compete to provide tourists with the best tourist experience. This has led tourist producers and owners of wine farms to create '*tourist spaces'* to meet the demands of expectant tourists. The cases revealed three quite different responses to the needs for '*tourist spaces'* on historic Cape Dutch wine farms. The critical question is whether the value and significance of historic farmsteads have been compromised while 'pandering to the comfort and ease of tourists' (Todeschini 2015).

From an idealist conservation point of view, the best approach is the minimal commodification of the traditional wine farm, such as at Schoongezicht, where only a modest wine tasting facility has been added to the historic precinct within an existing building. The original farmstead with homestead and historic cellar is still the main focal point of the farm. The historic built form is undisturbed and the approach to the farm and the *werf* is still intact. This is a case where material or object-related authenticity is still real and perceptible. This is mainly because the farm has a long history of conservation and the focus of the farm is not to satisfy tourists' demands, but rather to focus on producing good wine. Tourist numbers to Schoongezicht are relatively low and those that visit the wine cellar are happy to taste the excellent wines and enjoy the ambiance of the historical setting and depart, anticipating that another wine farm will satisfy their other expectations. The value and significance of the farm has not been compromised. However, in the future the need may well arise to add additional tourist facilities to the historic precinct.

La Motte demonstrates that tourists are indifferent to objective authenticity and are mainly interested in having a good authentic tourist experience. A pseudo-historic space has been created

where tourists can indulge with all the activities associated with wine tourism, wine tasting, fine dining, shopping and relaxing in a comfortable and safe environment. The historic farm buildings are inaccessible and barely visible to everyday tourists, although on one morning a week those who are interested can attend an hour and a half tour of the historic buildings. However, despite the attempt to keep the tourists away from the historic buildings and thereby retaining their value and significance, the historic built-form has been compromised. The construction of the over-scaled simulated tourist space scattered with foreign elements in such close proximity to the historic buildings is unsuccessful and damaging and affects the significance of the historic fabric.

In order to live up to tourist motivations and expectations and to create something unique to offer tourists, Babylonstoren has introduced new facilities and attractions alongside the historic buildings. In this process the traditional patterns and farm layout has been obscured and identification and separation of old and new has been confused. Questions around authenticities arise when there is no longer clear distinction between the truly historic fabric and the later additions. Although it is of no concern to the tourists, it does affect the authenticities of the historic farm precinct and, thereby, its value and significance in terms of conservation. This approach suggests that the authenticity of the tourist experience was also given greater priority than the authenticities of the farm as a historical place.

As demonstrated by studying La Motte and Babylonstoren, it is difficult to integrate the historic buildings and new additions on historic wine farms and to satisfy the demands of tourists and to suit conservation ideals. Both these farms are highly praised as tourist destinations as well as being valued as typical historic farmsteads. Although heritage management is in place in the Western Province and heritage officials and heritage societies concern themselves with the protection and conservation of these significant heritage resources, there is a need for cooperation and understanding between the tourism sector (owners, producers and consumers) and the conservation or heritage lobby. It is important to understand the notion of authenticity in tourism as being different to the concept of authenticity in conservation. Given that the influence of tourism is so pertinent the conservation lobby will have to explore beyond the traditional concepts of authenticity of the built environment to understand the dynamics of the 'tourist' world in which they operate. In fact, the notion of authenticity in conservation as well as tourism is active and dynamic and always changeable as they are ultimately both dependent on cultural value judgements.

The ICOMOS International Tourism Charter (2002) suggests:

> That both the conservation community and the tourism industry must work cooperatively together to protect and present the world's cultural and natural heritage, given their mutual respect for it and their concern for the fragility of the resource (ICOMOS 2002:1).
>
> It recognises that greater progress will be made by establishing a positive dialogue than for conservationists to simply regard tourism as something to be tolerated under duress (ICOMOS 2002:2).

It is necessary for conservationists and heritage management officials to understand that notions of authenticity differ for tourists and that the demands created by tourists need to be addressed at the same moment that we protect and manage heritage. Indeed we must therefore agree with Lowenthal:

> Authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative (Lowenthal 1995:123).

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Appendix A

LIST OF TOUR OPERATORS INTERVIEWED

Name of tour company	Contact information	Interview details	Consent given
Capexec.	Mark @ 0824414867	Initial consultation and questionnaire sent	
VIP Wine and Culture Tours	Pietman Retief @ 0825541476	Initial consultation.	
Redwood Tours	Keith @ 0824436480	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Beautiful Cape Town Tours	Rob @ 0844343497	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Trek Direct	Sean @ 0832681204	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
African Story Tours	Bruce @ 0737550444	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Mile by Mile Tours	Shaun @021 7120561	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Gourmet Wine Tours	Stephen @ 0832293581	Telephonic discussion of previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Luhambo Tours	Cedric @ 0215510467	Preferred to complete and return previously sent questionnaire.	Yes.
Shape of Africa	Joe @ 0823324882	Questionnaire sent. Was too busy to conduct follow up discussion.	

Appendix B

Questionnaire to tour operators:

Name of Touring Company:
Contact details:
Type of tours:

Name the three most popular tourist destinations in the Western Cape:

- ◊ Robben Island
- ◊ Cape Point
- ◊ Cape Winelands
- ◊ Table mountain
- ◊ Cape Town city & waterfront
- ◊ Other destinations? _____

Name the main reason why the Winelands tour is one of the most popular attractions:

- ◊ Historic Cape Dutch Architecture
- ◊ Wine tourism
- ◊ Excellent services such as restaurants and interesting attractions.
- ◊ Other reasons?_____

Name the preferred wine route in the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape and why it is preferred.

How many wine farms do you visit on a typical day trip?
_____

Name six preferred destination wine farms that you include on your standard itinerary and the reasons you choose these farms?

- ◊ Name
- ◊ Name
- ◊ Name
- ◊ Name
- ◊ Name
- ◊ Name

_____

Do you take tourists to destinations of their choice, which they have seen and heard from through advertising, and would like to visit?

- ◊ Yes
- ◊ No

Do you tailor make your tours to satisfy specific visitors needs?
I would like to discus three wine farms that I am going to base my study on and ask some questions: Do you take visitors to Babylonstoren, and what are your views on the farm?

Are the visitors to Babylonstoren made aware that the garden is a new addition and that it is not really a 'historic' garden?

Do you take visitors to, La Motte and what are your views on the farm?

Are the tourists at La Motte content to learn about the history and historic buildings of the farm through the museum only?

Do you take visitors to Rustenburg and what are your views on the farm?

Are the visitors to Rustenburg disappointed that there are no additional tourist facilities such as a restaurant?

Are the tourists concerned about the true heritage of the farm:

- ◊ Yes, it is a very important issue.
- ◊ People are interested about the history of the farm but it is not the most important issue.
- ◊ No, it is not a very important issue.

Do the tourists concern themselves about the authentic of the historic buildings and are they interested in distinguishing the historic buildings from the later more recent additions:

- ◊ Yes, most definitely, they are fully aware which are the historic buildings.
- ◊ Not quite sure and it does not detract from the experience.
- ◊ Not at all and they are not concerned about it.

Do the tourists like the opportunity to visit the manor house, such as presented at Vergelegen/ Groot Constantia and Boschendal:

- ◊ Yes, they always want to see it.
- ◊ Only a small percentage of people have an interest in the authentic historic buildings.
- ◊ No, they did not even consider it and they were not even aware of where it was located.

In your opinion, what are the tourists most concerned about:

- ◊ Having a good tourist experience in a truly authentic historic setting.
- ◊ Having a better tourist experience in a somewhat contrived setting.
- ◊ Having the best tourist experience in a fully contrived setting.

Do you know that this research is being done and the study will be available on the university library system. Do you consent to your information being recorded in the study.

- ◊ Yes
- ◊ No

_____ _____

Signature Date

Appendix C

Credentials of heritage experts:

Emeritus Professor Fabio Todeschini was interviewed as a heritage expert as he was extensively employed during the nomination of the Ida's Valley as a National Heritage Site, and continues to assist in the drafting of the required *Guidelines for Conservation and Development* for Ida's Valley, in which the farm Schoongezicht is located. He has also delivered papers at local and international conferences on the Cape Winelands as a cultural landscape. Todeschini is a professional architect, city planner, urban designer, heritage practitioner and an academic. He is a former Director of the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Cape Town (UCT), where he has been teaching in the architecture, landscape architecture, city planning, urban design and conservation planning masters programmes. He runs a professional consulting practice in Cape Town.

Sarah Winter, the second heritage professional, was also interviewed due to her longstanding involvement and commitment to the conservation of cultural heritage in the Western Cape. She is an urban planner with 20 years' experience in heritage management. She has worked on numerous projects including impact assessments, heritage surveys and conservation guidelines. Winter co-authored the provincial environmental department's (DEA&DP[19]) *Guidelines for Involving Heritage Specialists in EIA processes* (2005) as well as the *Heritage and Scenic Study for the Provincial Spatial Development Framework* (2013). She is a member of the provincial heritage authority, Heritage Western Cape (HWC) Council, and is the chairperson of its Built Environment and Landscape Committee. She is also a member of the South African Heritage Resources Agency's (SAHRA) Council.

[19] Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning of the Western Cape.

Appendix D

Questionnaire to heritage experts: (to determine the impact of tourism on the heritage significance of the particular farm.)

1. **Name of heritage expert:**
2. **Contact details:**
3. **What is the name of the farm under discussion**?

◊ Babylonstoren
◊ La Motte
◊ Rustenburg

4. **What do you consider to be the most important heritage objects on the farm?**

◊ Historic 'werf'
◊ Historic manor house
◊ Historic wine cellar
◊ Historic outbuildings
◊ Historic slave bell
◊ Historic chicken coop and fowl house
◊ Historic avenue of trees
◊ Other_____

5. **Have new facilities been built alongside the historic buildings to accommodate tourist related functions and attractions?**

◊ Yes
◊ No

6. **Is there clear distinction between the authentic historic buildings and the new tourist facilities?**

◊ Yes
◊ No
◊ Uncertain

7. **Do these facilities impact on the significance of the historic buildings on the farm?**

◊ Yes
◊ No

8. **Were you/your society involved in the decision making process during the application for the development of the farm?**

◊ Yes
◊ No

9. **Do you think that there was an alternative/better way to integrate the new buildings with the historic buildings on the site?**

◊ Yes
◊ No

10. **Do you think that there is sufficient management and control to deal with the impact of tourism on the historic wine farms of the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape?**

◊ Yes
◊ No.

11. **Would you like to add a further opinion or information on the issue?**

12. Are you aware that this study will be published and do you consent to the use of your name and the information you have provided?

_____ _____

Signature Date